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Mourt's relation or journal of the plantation at Plymouth

1. Mourt's relation or journal of the plantation at Plymouth

Mourt's relation or journal of the plantation at Plymouth

Bradford, William, 1588-1657

Winslow, Edward, 1595-1655

Dexter, Henry Martyn, 1821-1890, ed

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Entered, according to Acl of Congrefe, in the year 1865,

BY J. K. WIGGIN,

In the Clerk's Office or the Diftricl Court of the United States for the Diftrilt of Maftichufetts.

Boston; Press of Geo. C. Rand 6r* Avery.

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TO THE

HONORABLE MARCUS MORTON,

WHO CONTINUES ON THE MASSACHUSETTS ItENCH AN ILLUSTRIOUS NAME,

AND IS A WORTHY LINEAL DESCENDANT OF THE GOOD MAN

WHO WAS ASSOCIATED WITH THIS

"iHciatCou,"

AS ITS SPONSOR TO THE BRITISH PUHLIC, NEAR TWO CENTURIES AND A HALF

AGO, THIS FIRST LITERAL REPRINT OF A DEEPLY INTERESTING

AND VALUABLE TRACT

|s glebicaieb bit); affectionate fltgarb,

BY HIS FRIEND AND KINSMAN, THE EDITOR.

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PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

This is the firft of a feries of literal reprints of fome of the moft valuable trails on our early New-England hiftory. Their originals are now fo fcarce as to be, in many cafes, almoft beyond the reach of the ampleft means; fo that private collectors and public libraries muft be content with fome reiffue. A ftrift facsimile, page for page, and line by line, were, indeed, poflible, and would be fcarcely more coftly than fuch an edition as is here propofed. Such a facsimile would, however, be really no better for accuracy than this; which aims at a faithful reproduction of the original, letter by letter, though not page for page. This form is, on the whole, preferred, becaufe it admits that light from notes, in immediate connexion with the text, which is very defirable in fuch reprints.

The works forming this feries will therefore be literally reprinted from the firft editions, — the intention

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being to reproduce every peculiarity of the original down to the minuteft errors of the prefs, — fo that he who holds one of them in his hand (hall read the ipfiffttna verba of the ancient volume; while fuch Introductions and Notes will be added as will give the reader the benefit of the lateft and broadeft refearch in the department to which each belongs,

J. K. W. Boston, 15 July, 1865.

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INTRODUCTION.

'^GtoS'*

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$vAxabnrttan hg % €biiai.

A novice in hiftorical criticifm may very naturally fhrink from entering into comparifon with a veteran; and, when invited by the publifher of this feries to prepare for it an edition of the firft journals of the Pilgrims, I fhould hardly have been able to overcome my repugnance to appear guilty of the prefumption of being able to do better any thing which fuch a man as Dr. Young had done fo well, had I not remembered that both Bradford's Hiftory and the Leyden Records have offered themfelves to our ftudy fince he wrote; had I not hoped that a personal familiarity from childhood with important portions of the ground on which the events narrated took place, might aid me to fome conclufions the data of which had efcaped his attentive yet fometimes unfamiliar eye; and had I not greatly defired that a literal

reprint of Mourt fhould be fecured. I can only hope that my fuccefs, efpecially in the latter particular, may prove to be in

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fome meafure equal to my endeavor; although that has lacked the well-nigh indifpenfable element of abundant leifure to read proof over and over and over again until every minuted untruthfulnefs has been eliminated.

The Relation was firft printed in London by John Bellamie, in 1622. In 1624, John Smith introduced an abftraft of much of it into his General Hijlorie, under the head of A Plantation in New-England. In 1625, it was condenfed about one-half (and not very accurately) by Purchas, and inferted in the fourth volume of his Pilgrims. This abridgment was reprinted with notes by Dr. Freeman, in 1802, in 1 Majf. Hijl. Coll., viii. [pp. 203-239.] In 1822, thofe portions which. Purchas had omitted were reprinted with notes by Dr. Freeman and Judge Davis, in 2 Majf. Hijl. Coll., ix. [pp. 26-74], from a manufcript copy, procured in 1819, by Mr.-Du Ponceau, from the original volume in the City Library of Philadelphia. Thefe difjetta membra were all that had been done in the way of reiffue, until 1841, when Dr. Young reprinted the complete work, from the copy of the original in the library of Harvard College, in his Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers [pp. 109-249]. He added copious and very valuable notes, but did not feek to reproduce the volume in its original ftyle. In 1848, Rev.

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George B. Cheever, D. D., of New-York City, iffued an edition, which he intended fhould be an accurate reproduction of the Relation in its fpelling, though he made no attempt to call his book in the mold of the original as to form, and freely modified it in the matter of paragraphs and punctuation; adding more than two hundred and fifty pages of comment or differtation, fuggefted by the contents.

The prefent is, therefore (throwing out the abridgments of Smith and Purchas), the fourth reprint (fifth edition) of the book, and the firft reiflue in which the endeavor has been made to follow exactly the firft copies, in ftyle of type, paging, and identity of embellifhment,—in all of which particulars neither pains nor expenfe has been fpared to render it worthy of the confidence and favor of connoijfeurs. Eyery caption, initial letter, and ornamental heading, has been engraved mfac-Jimile from the original; and the only defe6t in the reproduction is, that the copy — thanks to the fuperior capabilities of the modern prefs — is a great deal more fplendid than its modeft prototype ever was in all the glory of its frefhnefs, two hundred and forty-three years ago.

The hafty reader will not do juftice to the accom

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plifhed prefs from which this volume proceeds, unlefs he remembers that the proofs of the firft edition of the Relation were very imperfe<5tly read; and, by confequence, have compelled this reprint to blufh under a load of errors which would be the ruin of a modern printer of any pretenfion, if the fa6l were not kept in memory that thefe errors are, with him, blunders of (kill, and not of careleffnefs. I have not ufually thought it needful to call attention to them in the

notes, except when they become liable to miflead the reader, or are of fuch a nature as very much to obfcure the fenfe. Infiances like " ny" for "many" (page 5, nth line from the top), " Munday the 13. day," for " Munday the 18. day " (page 61, 5th line from the top), &c, it has not been thought neceffary to refer to in the notes, as they fufficiently explain themfelves. John Bellamie's printingoffice appears to have run very low in pundluation-marks as the compofitors approached the end of this book, fo that Italic colons, and old Englifh colons and periods, were not unfrequently made to do unwonted duty in plain Roman company, — all of which, fo far as watchful eyes have been able to fecure it, has been here faithfully duplicated; in the recollection of that fuggeftion of De Bury which has fpecial force in its application to the re

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production of an ancient volume, — " Quantum impediat intellettus qffuium vel unius vocabuli fetni plena notitta"* and in the feeling that Alcuin's motto, in its mod fervile fenfe, is fafeft for a copyift, whether with pen or types: —

" Et pundlos ponant ordine quofque fuo." \

This reprint has been made from a copy of the original moft kindly loaned for the purpofe by Mr. Charles Deane of Cambridge, to whom I am further indebted for fundry valuable hints. I have been efpecially aided in regard to all queftions relating to the topography of Provincetown, and the extremity of Cape Cod, by the intelligent help of the Rev. Osborne My rick, for many years the excellent paftor of the Congregational Church in that town, who has made the ancient geography and natural hiftory of that interefting but

peculiar portion of our MafTachufetts territory a fpecial ftudy. My thanks are alfo due to the Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull of Hartford, Conn., for the notes which he has generoufly furnifhed upon fundry Indian names herein occurring; thereby enriching the work with fuggeftions of that defcription, fometimes of fpecial intereft, and always of unique value, inafmuch as his dictum, upon a queftion on

• PhilobMw*. Cap. xii. L j. \A Unini O/tru, u. Ju.

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which he is the moft accompliflied living authority, is neceflarily final. I muft not forget, alfo, to record my gratitude to M. le Baron W. J. C. Rammelman Elfevier, Archivift of the city of Leyden, for various items from the Leyden Ms. records, (hedding new light upon fome of the relationfhips and experiences of our Pilgrim fathers and mothers before their coming to thefe fliores, of which I have freely availed myfelf.

All dates have been given in both new and old ftyle, to facilitate the convenience of the reader.

The maps I have traced from the State map, in outline, and filled them in, by the aid of Major Graham's chart, according to my beft judgment; endeavoring efpecially to indicate the locality of the firft wafhing-place, and the probable route taken by each of the three exploring parties.

Dr. Young has brought out, with great clearnefs and conclufivenefs, the evidence that Bradford and Window were the authors of the main portion of this volume. Cufhman fays it was " writ by the feveral a<5lors themfelves, after their plain and rude manner" (fee page xxxvi); and all that

We know of the Plymouth Pilgrims limits the probabilities of fuch authorfhip to Bradford and

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Window. If one were to attempt to defignate fpecifically the fource of every portion of the volume, the refult muft be, I think, as follows: —

pp. xxxv-xxxviii. Dedication to Mr. John Peirce, . Robert Cujhman.

pp. xxxix-xl. To the Reader, George Morion.

pp. xli-xlvii. Certaine vfeful Advertifements, . John Robin/on.

pp. 1-97. A Relation, &c, William Bradford.

pp. 98-111. A Journey to Packanokik, &c. . Edward Win/low.

pp. 112-117. A Voyage, &c, to JWaufet, &c. . Edward Winjlow.

pp. 118-123. A Journey to JVamqfchet, &c. . . Edward Winjlow.

pp. 124-130. A Relation of the Voyage to

the Majffl, Edward Win/low.

pp. 131-142. A Letter, &c Edward. Win/law.

pp. 143-154. Reafons and Confiderations, &c. Robert Cujhman.

Thefe Journals of the daily occurrences in the infant Colony bear the marks of having been written from day to day, on

the ground; and therefore claim the higheft value as teftimony in regard to the farfis which they narrate. They were evidently carried to England by Robert Cufhman, when he returned in the Fortune, and were placed by him in the hands of " G. Mourt" for publication, with his own prefixed note to Mr, Peirce, and appended trarft perfuafive of emigration.

It would appear, from a paflage in Edward Window's Good Newes from New-England^ which was publifhed in

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London in 1624, that it was not underftood, when theie Journals left their author's hands, that they would be printed on reaching London. Window fays [as in Young's Chron. Plym.y page 355], " Myfelf and others, in former letters {which came to the prefs again/l my will and knowledge), wrote, &c, &c." I am not aware of any other publication than this to which he could thus refer; fo that the inference feems unavoidable that thefe journals were fent over to their friends in London in Ms., and with the original expectation that they would remain fo, but were publifhed by Mourt (who fays he " thought it not a miffe to make them more generall"), with Cufhman's advice and afliftance; probably on requeft of the merchant adventurers, in the feeling that fuch publication would aid in the work of inducing new emigrants to offer themfelves to the waiting Colony, in which thofe adventurers had fo decided a pecuniary intereft.

But who was "G. Mourt?" From his preface, two things are clear: —

1. He had been formerly affociated with the writers of thefe Journals — Bradford and Window — to that degree that he

could fpeak of them as " my both known and faithful friends " (fee page xxxix).

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2. He had always defired, and was now intending foon, to emigrate in perfon to join the company in New-Plymouth ; inafmuch as he fays, " Myfelfe then much defired, and fliortly hope to effe<5t, if the Lord will, the putting to of my fhoulder in this hope full bufmefs." (See page xxxix.)

If in this cafe, as in each fimilar inftance in the volume, the initials only had been given, and we were limply called upon to interpret " G. M.," no one probably would hefitate to read them George Morton, inafmuch as there was no other member of the Leyden-Plymouth Company, to all appearance, fo likely as he was to have done fuch a work. He had joined them at leaft as early as 1612. He had been intruded with public employment on their behalf. He feems to have been in London as an agent for them, while thofe negotiations were going on with Wefton and others, which refulted in the failing of the Mayflower. He himfelf failed with his family for New Plymouth in the Anne, about the laft of April, in the following year. He is the only G. M. of whom thefe things were true ; in fact, the only G. M. of any fort known as being in their company, of whom they could be true.

Unlefs we take the ground, then, that the difference between Mourt and Morton is fufficient to overturn thefe

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probabilities by fuggefting another of greater weight, we fhall inevitably come to the conclufion which was reached by Dr. Young [Chron. Plym.y page 113], that " G. Mourt" was none other than George Morton. Mr. Hunter, indeed, fuggefts {Founders of New-Plymouth, page 122] that there were two Puritan families then in England whofe names approached nearer in orthography to " Mourt" than Morton does; viz., Mort in Lancafhire, and Moult in Derbyfhire : but the fa6l that no perfon of either of thefe families is known to have had fuch intercourfe with the Pilgrim fathers, and fuch connexion with their hiftory, as are effential to the requifitions of this cafe, muft neceffarily be fatal to any inference fuch as he fuggefts might be poflible in regard to them. And it is only needful to infer fome whim of the moment on his part, poflibly fome defire of difguife, or fome unnoticed and uncorrected blunder of the printer here, fuch as plentifully occurs elfewhere in the volume, to account for the abbreviated form in which the name appears. So that we may fafely fet it down as reafonably eftablifhed, that George. Morton was the procurer in London of the publication of this volume, and its introducer to the Englifh reader.

It may be afked why, if his father had this refponfible

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connexion with this Relation, did not Nathaniel Morton refer to the fa<5t in his Memorial? To this it may be replied, that George Morton had probably been dead more than forty years when Nathaniel Morton wrote the Memorial; that Nathaniel, at the time of his father's death, was a child of

fcarcely more than eleven years of age; that the fon had even loft the memory of the day of the month of June, 1624, in which the deceafe of his father took place; and that, therefore, much definite reference would not be natural. I am inclined to think, however, that there may be an a<5tual though vague allufion to G. Mourt's preface to the Relation, in what Nathaniel does fay in the Memorial of his father. I put the two fentences in parallel; thus: —

Mourt. " Though it fared with them, as it is common to the mod adtions of this nature, that the firft attemps proue diffecult," &c. [page xxxix.]

Morton. "Labouring to ftill the Difcontents that fometimes would arife amongft fome fpirits, by occafion of the Difficulties of thefe new beginings," &c. — [N. E. Mem. 48.]

I fubmit the theory that the author of the Memorial had in mind, in writing this fentence, the addrefs of his father to the Reader, as quoted above.

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I wifh I knew more of George Morton: it is not for want of "journeyings often" that I do not. He arrived at Plymouth, in the Anne, in July, 1623, bringing with him his wife Juliana, and thefe five children; viz.: —

(1.) Nathaniel, born (fay) May, 1613.

(2.) Patience, born (fay) Feb. 1615.

(3.) John, born (fay) Nov. 1616.

(4.) Sarah, born (fay) May, 1618.

(5.) Ephraim, born (fay) June, 1623.

The firft four are fuppofed to have been born in Leyden : there is a tradition that Ephraim was born on the paflage over.

George Morton lived lefs than a year after his arrival. His fon Nathaniel, in his New-England's Memorial [Cambridge, N. E., 1669, page 48], fays of him, "Mr. George Morton was a pious gracious Servant of God, and very faithful in whatfoever publick Imployment he was betrufted withall, and an unfeigned well-wilier, & according to his Sphere and Condition, a futable Promoter of the Common Good and Growth of the Plantation of New-Plimouth, labouring to ftill the Difcontents that fometimes would arife amongft fome fpirits, by occafion of the Difficulties of thefe new beginnings: but it pleafed

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God to put a period to his dayes foon after his arrival in New-England, not furviving a full year after his coming afhore. With much comfort and peace he fell afleep in the Lord in the month oijune, Anno 1624."'

Going back to England, the next earlier trace which we have of George Morton muft depend upon the very queftion juft now confidered. If he were " G. Mourt," then we find him in London in 1621-2, a<5ting in fome capacity of public fervice for the Leyden and Plymouth peoples.

The next earlier trace occurs in a letter of John Robinfon from Leyden to John Carver in England, under date of Jjj^ 1620, in which Mr. Robinfon mentions incidentally that Mr. Wefton u would come to Georg Morton and enquire news of him

aboute things, as if he had fcarce been fome acceffarie unto it." — [Bradford's Hijl. Plym. Plant., 48.] Whether this " coming " took place in London or in Leyden, the letter gives no data for furely determining; though, for the reafons that Wefton's refidence was in London (though he had vifited Leyden a few months before), and that Mr. Robinfon prefixes his account by faying, " I have heard that," &c, &c, as if that which he relates had happened further

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from his own immediate obfervation than the city where he was then refident, I incline to the judgment that Wefton came to George Morton, in London, and that the latter was therefore one of thole agents who were fent over to England whofe names are not given [Bradford's Hift. Plym. Plants 45], and was therefore officially in England at that time.

Going back ftill further for the next trace, over a chafm of eight years, we ftrike the Dutch record of the marriage in Leyden, ;* Dec, 1612, of Edward Pickering, " merchant from London," with " Maycken Stuws," [Mary Stowers ?] and with George Morton prefent as a witnefs. Five months earlier, we reach the record of the marriage of the man himfelf, as follows: —

" George Morton* merchant from York in England, ac" companied by Thomas Morton his brother, and Roger " Wilfon, his acquaintance, with

Juliana Carpenter, maid from Bath in England* accompanied by Alexander Carpenter, her father, and

* Others of this Carpenter family land,—which is a little village fome are down in thefe fame records as fixteen miles,

a little fouth of weft, from " Wrenten " [Wrington ?], Eng- from Bath, — in Somerfetfliire.

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"Alice Carpenter her fifter, and Anna Robinfon, her 41 acquaintance.*

" The banns were publiflied, f6 July, 1612.

" The marriage took place, VjftJ* 1612."

The clew here given of refidence in the North of Enggland, I have failed to follow to any comfortable certainty of origin. The indefatigable antiquary of York, Mr. William Paver, has hunted for me the records of that fhire thus far in vain; writing, " I very much regret to have to inform you, that, after a long and painftaking fearch, I have not been able to find any thing relating to George Morton." It is poflible, indeed, that the fuggeftion which Mr. Hunter throws out [Founders of NewPlymouth^ 124], that this George Morton may have been the George hitherto unaccounted for in the family of Anthony Morton of Bawtry,—one of the "hiftorical families of England," — and that from Romanift lineage he " fo far departed from the fpirit and principles of his family as to have fallen into the ranks of the Proteftant Puritans and Separatifts," may be true. Mr. Hunter adds, " The conjecture is, perhaps, too bold and too im

* This Anna does not appear to den flock; at lead, no one with that

have been a member of the family of Chriftian name is in the lift of his

the great and good pallor of this Ley- houfehold. d

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probable; but it is eafier to fay fo than to inform us what became of this prominent member of a very eminent family." I truft the refearches of the not diftant future may fettle the queftion, and reveal the point of conta6l between this Pilgrim and the lineage in the Father land.

I am able to add a few meager notes in regard to the defcendants of George Morton in New England, mainly in one line of defcent, which I fet down here rather as hooks upon which others may, perhaps, be ftimulated to hang further refearches, than as afpiring, in the humbleft degree, to the character of a genealogy of the family.

George Morton,1 merchant, York, Eng., *jjjj* 1612, m. at Leyden, Holl., Juliana, dau. of Alexander Carpenter of Wrington, Somerfetfhire, Eng. He d. Plymouth, N. E., June, 1623; flie d. ^ Feb., i66|, aet. 81. Had five children; viz.: (1) Nathaniel;' (2) Patience ;3 (3) John ;4 (4) Sarah ;5 and (5) Ephraim.6

Nathaniel,2 b. 1613? (d. "Jjgj 1685,) m. (1) 1635; Lydia Cooper (d. "JoS?,"' i673)J (2) Ann Templar (d. *££:; 169?.) Had eight children; viz.: (1) Remember7 (1637); (2) Mercy;8 (3) Lydia;9 (4) Eliza

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beth10 (33 May, 1652); (5) Joanna" (• Nov., 1654); (6) Hannah," (7) Eleazer,3 (d. young); (8) Nathaniel "4 (d.

young).

Patience,3 b. 1615? m. 1633, John Fuunce; had nine children; viz.: (1) Prifcilla's (m. Jofeph Warren); (2) Mary'6 Cj July, 1658, m. William Harlow) 5 (3) Patience17 (£ Nov., 1661, m. John Holmes); (4) Sarah18 (1£ft; 1663, m. Edward Dotey)l (5) Thomas19 (b. a. 1647); (6) Elizabeth20 (b. "2 Eg* 1648, d. next yr.); (7) Mercy" (6 £ Apr., 1651, 2?j£; i66j,m. Nathaniel Holmes); (8) John" (d. 1%Z: 1654); (9) Jofeph23 (b. JJ May, 1653, d. « Jan., 1687).

John,4 b. 1615? m. Lettice ? had nine children ; viz.: (1) John24 d. young; (2) John;*5 (3) Deborah;26 (4) Mary;27 (5) Martha;28 (6) Hannah j29 (7) Efther;30 (8-9) Manaffah3' and Ephraim32 (twins.)

Sarah,5 b. 1618? £ Dec, 1644, m. (as fecond wife) George Bonham; had probably five children; viz.: (1) Ruth33 (2|g£' 1666, m. Robert Barron); (2) Patience34 (*££ 167?, m. Richard Willis); (3) Sarah35 (b. 4 Dec, 1649, d. early in 1650); (4) Sarah36 (b. J2 Jan., 165;, d. prob. foon); (5) Sarah37 (b. Z Dec, 1653, d. *&;• 1704, set 86).

Ephraim,6 b. 1623? d. 77 Sept, 1693, m. (1) XX Nov., 1644, Ann Cooper (d. ^ Sept, 1691); (2) Oct, 1692, Widow Mary Harlow. By the firft wife had

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nine children; viz.: (i) Ephraim38 (b. *£$£; 164$, d. * Feb., 173;); (2) Rebecca39 (b. \\ Mar., 1651); (3) Jofiah40 (b. 1653); George4' [he fleeps on Burial Hill in Plymouth, with this infcription, u Here lies y* Body of Deacon George

Morton, who Dec.d Auguft ye 2d 1727 in y* 82d year of his Age"]; (5) Nathaniel;4' (6) Eleazer;43 (7) Thomas;44 (8) Patience45 (m. John Nelfon); (9) Mercy.46

Eleazer,43 m. Rebecca ? (received from his

father by will in Pfytn. Rec. [of date ^o^" l693-] all his intereft in the 16 (hilling purchafe, so called, in Middleborough, and one-third of his refidual perfonal eftate), had four children; viz.: (1) Eleazer;47 (2) Ann;48 (3) Nathaniel;49 (4) Rebecca.50

Nathaniel,49 m. 1720, Rebecca Ellis, widow of Mordecai (fhe m. Ellis in 1715), and daughter of Thomas Clark. They had four children; viz.:

(1) Elizabeth;51 (2) Nathaniel52 (b. 1723); (3) Eleazer;53 (4) Ichabod.54 The father was loft at fea while ftill young, and his widow m. 1730, for her third husband, Thomas Swift, of Sandwich, by whom fhe had a numerous iffue. [Ichabod* (m.

Deborah ? who d. 17 Nov., 1789,^/. 59), lived

in Middleborough, was 10th deacon of the Congregational Church there, where he d. 10 May, 1809,^/. 85. He had fix fons; viz.: (1) Eleazer;55

(2) Elifha;56 (3) Ichabod;57 John ;58 (5) Nathaniel ;59 (6) Mordecai.60]

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Nathaniel,5* i 749, m. Martha Tupper, and had five children; viz.: (i),Rebecca;61 (2) Nathaniel;6* (3) Martha;63 (4)

Elizabeth;6* (5) Job.65 [He lived firft in Middleborough, but removed thence to Freetown, on the neck between Long Pond and Affawompfett and Quitticas> where he accumulated a large property; leaving each of his children a farm, and ftill holding four or five farms at his death. His fon Job65 lived on his land, and reared a large family of boys.]

Nathaniel,6* b. 1 June, 1753 (d. 18 Nov., 1832, aet. 79), 19 Mar., 1782, m. Mary Cary [3d child of Eleazer, of Bridgewater, — fon of Jonathan, fon of Jonathan, fon of John, fr. Somerfetfhire, Eng.], b. 11 April, 1756 (d. 9 Aug., 1835, aet. 79). They had two children; viz.: (1) Marcus;66 (2) Mary.67

Marcus,66 b. 19 Feb., 1781 (d. 6 Feb., 1864, at. 79), 23 Dec, 1807, m. Charlotte Hodges^ of Taunton. They had twelve children; viz.: — (1) Joanna Maria68 (b. 28 Oct., 1808, m. William T. Hawes, New Bedford); (2) Charlotte69 (b. 9 July, 1810, d. 15 Oct., 1814); (3) Lydia Mafon70 (b. 29 June, 1812, m. Rev. Henry Lee, D. D., now Bifhop of Iowa); (4) Nathaniel71 (b. 16 Apr., 1814, d. 10 May, 1814); (5) Charlotte7' (b. 19 Apr., 1815, m. Samuel Watfon, Efq., Nafhville, Tenn.); (6) Sarah Carey73 (b. 31 Mar., 1817, m. Willard Lovering, Efq., Taunton); (7) Marcus74 b. 8 April, 1819, m. Abby Hoppin of Providence, R. I.); (8) Nathan

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iel75 (b. 3 Dec, 1821, m. Harriet, dau. of Hon. Francis Baylies of Taunton, d. 12 Feb., 1856);

(9) James Hodges76 (b. 21 June, 1824, m. Elizabeth, dau. of Hon. Geo. Aflimun of Springfield);

(10) Sufan Tillinghaft77 (b. 16 April, 1826, m. M. Day Kimball, Efq., Bofton); 11 Frances Wood78 (b. 17 Jan., 1828, m. Charles Henry French of Andover, Mafs.); (12) Emily Matilda79 (b. 10 Nov., 1831, m. Daniel Dawes of Brooklyn, N. Y.)

Mary,67 b. 28 Sept., 1785 (d. 16 Oct., 1822, at 37.) 30 Dec, 1812, m. (as his fecond wife) Rev Elijah Dexter of Plympton [fixth child of Dea. Elijah, of Rochefter, Mafs., who was fourth child of Dea. Seth, who was eleventh child of Benjamin, who was feventh child of William, who was almoft certainly a fon of "Farmer" Thomas, of Lynn and Sandwich.] They had four children; viz.: (1) Nathaniel Morton80 (b. 28 Sept., 1814, d. 18 Sept., 1838, at. 24); (2) Elijah8' (b. 31 Aug., 1816, d. 1 Sept., 1816); (3) David Brainerd8* (b. 18 Oct., 1817, d. fame day); (4) Henry Martyn,83 b. 13 Aug., 1821; 19 Nov., 1844, m. Emeline, fecond dau. of Simeon Palmer of Bofton; has had (1) Henry Morton,84 b. 12 July, 1846; (2) Winifred83 (b. 1 July, 1849, d. next day); (3) Liflie Clarendon86 (b. 20 Aug., 1851, d. 31 Dec, 1861); (4) Mary Palmer*7 (b. 21 Nov., 1856, d. 29 Oct., 1861).

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Concerning not a few of thofe whofe names are here fet down, many worthy and honorable deeds in Church and State might be recorded; as alfo of others known to be from the fame flock, but of whofe point of contadl with the family-tree I am not fure.

It is greatly to be defired that fome competent perfon fhould enrich the genealogical hiftories of New England with a complete and accurate record of the defcendants of " G. Mourt" on thefe fliores.

H. M. D.

Hillside, Roxbury, t 15 Jnfy% 1865. i

^3p§

§^

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A

RE LATIO N O R

Iournall of the beginning and proceedings

of the Englifli Plantation fettled at Tlimoth in New

England, by certaine English Aduenturers both Merchants and others.

With their difficult paflage, their fafe ariual, their

ioyfull building of, and comfortable planting them

felues in the now well defended Towne

of New Plimoth.

AS ALSO A RELATION OF FOVRE feuerall difcoueries lince made by fome of the

fame Englifli Planters there refident

/. In a ionrney to Pvckanokick the habitation of the Indians greatest King Maffafoyt: as alfo their mejfage, the anfwer and entertainment they had of him.

II. In a voyage made by ten of them to the Kingdome of Nawfet, tofeeke a boy that had lofl himfelfe in the woods : withfuch accidents as befell them in that voyage.

III. In their ionrney to the Kingdome of Namafchet, in defence of their greatefl King Maffafoyt, againfl the Narrohiggonfets, and to reuenge the fuppofed death of their Interpreter Tifquantum.

////. Their voyage to the Maffachufets, and their entertainement there.

With an anfwer to all fuch objections as are in any way made

againfl: the lawfulneffe of Englifh plantations

in thofe parts.

LONDON,

Printed for John Bellamie, and are to be fold at his fhop at the two Greyhounds in Cornhill neere the Royall Exchange. 1622.

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TO HIS MVCH %E*

fpedted Friend, Mr. /. P.a

jOod Friend: As wee cannot but account it an extraordinary blefling of God in directing our courfe for thefe parts, after we came out of our natiue countrey, for that we had the happineffe to be poflefTed of the comforts we receiue by the benefit of one of the moft pleafant, mod healthfull, and moft fruitfull parts of the world: So muft wee acknowledge the fame blefling to bee multiplied vpon our whole company, for that we obtained the honour to receiue allowance and approbation of our free poffeffion, and enioying thereof vnder the authority of thofe thrice honoured Perfons, the Prefident and Counfell for the affaires of New-England^ by whofe bounty and grace, in that behalfe, all of vs are tied to dedicate our beft feruice vnto them, as thofe under his Majeftie, that wee owe it

a I. P. Hands for John Peirce, " Cit- That the initials R. (7., appended by

izen and Clothworker of London/' way of fignature to this letter, were

who had interefted himfelf to aflift the mifprinted, feems to be made cer

Leyden men in coming over, and in tain by the fadl that there was no

whofe name their firft Patent was perfon then in the Plymouth colony

taken. — [See Deane's Firft Plym- who bore them except Richard Gar.

outh Patent^ 9.] diner, who was one of the humbler

xxxv

[j*\ q*+a*a <rf fci+MPuj

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vnto: whofe noble endeuours in thefe their [iv] actions the God of heauen and earth multiply to his glory and their owne eternall comforts.

As for this poore Relation, I pray you to accept it, as being writ by the feuerall A<5tors themfelues,' after their plaine and rude manner; therefore doubt

members of the party, and who, after a brief (lay, left to become a failor. — [Bradford, Hift. Pfym. Plant, 454.] It is to the lad degree improbable that he (hould have been felected to introduce thefe Relations to the notice of the merchant adventurers.

Afluming, therefore, an error, the mod probable rectification of it is found in the fuppofition that they (hould have been "R. C," (landing for Robert Cufliman. In favor of fuch a reading and interpretation are to be confidered: (a) that, as

a paffenger in the Fortune bearing the Ms. of the u Relation " to England, he would naturally have been felected to introduce it to the notice of thofe likely to be interefted in it there, unlefs fome fpecial reafon exifted to the contrary; (b) that, from his proved pofition as agent of the company and from his known culture, he was entitled to fpeak, as he does here, in a tone of semi-criticifm and deprecation of the plainnefs, and even rudenefs, of the authors and their work. On the other hand, it may be fuggefted, (a) that the author identifies himfelf by his language fomewhat more fully with the colonifts, as one of them in all their experiences, than would

feem to be natural for one who had only been actually with them during the few weeks of the Fortune's (lay; (b) that he dates from Plimothy as if fending from thence; and (c) that his clofing paragraph feems to intimate a lefs degree of acquaintance with Mr. Peirce than would be quite confonant with the facts in the cafe, if Cufliman were the writer.

But it is to be confidered that as Cufliman had come out expreflly to examine and report upon the probabilities of the fuccefs of the colony, the members of it would be mod anxious for that bed endorfement of it, which would confifl in his own aflerted identification of himfelf with its fortunes, —which, indeed, he himfelf would feel to be mod eflential to its fuccefs ; and that, fo feeling, — the more efpecially as he had left his fon behind him there, — he would naturally be led both to write and to date as he did. While, as to the clofing paragraph, I interpret it not as intimating any lack of acquaintance with Mr. Peirce, but as aflerting that the main recommendation which Cufliman had to the " further confideration" of the merchant adventurers for the colony which he reprefented, was in the

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nothing of the truth thereof: if it be defe<5tiue in any thing, it is their ignorance, that are better acquainted with planting then writing. If it fatisfie thofe that are well affe<5ted to the bufineffe, it is all I care for. Sure I

encouragement of its final fuccefe to provide for the voyage. When the

which was held out by the familiar facls recorded in thefe pages, now offered to the public notice.

It feems to be, therefore, as well fettled as any fuch queftion can be, that Robert Cufhman mud have been the author of this introductory matter, as he was of the concluding "Reafons and Confiderations, &c."— [See pp. 143-154.]

The firfl appearance of Culhman upon the hiftories of the time is in the Leyden records, where — defcribed as a woolcarder from Canterbury, and as having had a former wife named Sarah — he is fet down, ^ June, 1617, as marrying Mary Singleton [Chingleton ?] of Sandwich, widow of Thomas. Soon after, he was fent to England with John Carver to open negotiations toward a fettlement in North America. He feems to have returned to Leyden in November of the fame year, and to have gone back to London on the fame million in the following December. Failing in thefe efforts, the Leyden church fent him again, with Brewfler, in 1619; and, having formed an affociation, or joint-ftock company, in England, which was to furnifh the money for the enterprife, thofe envoys went back to Leyden to arrange the preliminaries. Carver and Cufhman were fent once more to England

Speedwell arrived at Southampton, Cufhman, with the Mayflower, was in waiting for them, and failed as "afliftant governor" in her, but went back in the Speedwell, when (he was finally condemned and returned, "his hart & courage" having gone before. He came over in the Fortune, with his fon (fee note 431, No. 9), probably as an agent of the adventurers to examine and report the condition of the colony. While here, — though not even an elder of the church, — he preached the famous fermon on "Self-Love," which has been many times reprinted; and next day failed for England again in the fame little fhip, leaving his fon in care of Gov. Bradford; was captured by the French ; releafed, and reached London JJ Feb., i6£.

He evidently carried with him the Ms. of thefe "Relations," and appended to them, when George Morton procured their publication, a differtation, intended to perfuade good men to become colonifts. He never revifited this country, but ailed as the agent for the Pilgrims in London until his death, which occurred not far from the beginning of 1625. His fon perpetuated his name in this country.— [Leyden Ms. Rec; Cujhman Genealogy', 14-77; Bradford, Hijl. Plym. Plant,, 70-74.]

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am the place we are in, and the hopes that are apparent, cannot but fuffice any that will not defire more then enough, neither is there want of ought among vs but company to enjoy the bleffings fo plentifully beftowed upon the inhabitants that are here. While I was a writing x this, I had almoft forgot, that I had but the recommendation of the

relation it felfe, to your further confideration, and therefore I will end without faying more, faue that I (hall alwaies reft

From PLIMOTH in New-England.

Yours in the way of friend/hip, R. G. ' [v]

XXXVlll

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To the Reader.

Wurleous Reader, be intreated to make a fauorabU conflruftion of my forwardness in publishing thefe infeuing difcourfes, the dejire of carrying the Gofpell of Chrifl into thofe forraigne parts, amongfl tkofe people that as yet haue had no knowledge, nor tqft of God, as alfo to procure vnto themfelues and others a quiet and comfortable habylalion: weare amongfl other things tlie inducements (vnto thefe vndertakers of the then hopefully and now experimentally knowne good enterprice for planlalion, in New England, to fet afoote and profecute the fame & though it fared with them, as it is common to the mofl attions of this nature, that thefirfl attemps proue diffecult, as the fequell more at large expreffeth, yet it hath pleafed God, eue beyond our expectation in fo fhort a time, to giue hope of letting fome of them fee (though fome he hath taken out of this vale of teares) fome grounds of hope, of the accompli/hment of both thofe endes by them, at firfl propounded.

And as myfelfe then much defired, and fhort- [vi] ly hope to effett, if the Lord will, the putting to of myfhoulder iu this hopefull buftnefs, and in the meane time, thefe relations comming to my hand from my both known &

XXXIX

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U.S.

HTo the Reader.

C**Ht£2£? faithful friends, on whofe writings I do much rely, I

^ f^T^J^ thought it not a miffe to make them more generally hoping of

-JJ^J^I^/ a cheerefull proceeding, both of Aduenturers and planters,

ti'^jJ^T intreating that the exawple of the hon: Virginia and Ber

ul&U.*T>."7. mudas Companies, incountering with fo many diflqflers,

ff' 9<Z . &nd that for diuers yeares together, with an vnwearied

* * j La* dttilvkir- ref°lution, the good effetts whereof are now eminent, may

J^t 4ii, »! w k* preuaiU as a fpurre of preparation alfo touching this no

wi»ui»^. mi*^ Uffe hopefull Country though yet an infant, the extent &

JM^l, n+**4 **+* ***. ^

d,^.^*. *, '%uu*?*ta& comodities whereof are as yet not fully known, after time

\-JZ~ '" 5 c*> wii vnfould moreifuch as defire to take knowledge of things,

vLl ttoiA H><2bu. m&y in forme themfelues by this mfuing treatife, and if

" n '~* they pleafe alfo byfuch as haue bin there a firfl and fecond

time,h my harty prayer to God is that the euent of this

and all other honorable and honefl vndertakings, may be

for the furtherance of the kingdome of Chrifl, the inlarg

ing of the bounds of our Soueraigne Lord King lames,

& the good and profit of thofe, who either by purfe, or per

fon, or both, are agents in the fame, fo I take leaue and refl

Thy friend, G. Movrt.c

[vii]

l> Capt. John Smith had been there, firft and only vifit, in the Fortune. ^y,,v,as had Clark and Coppin, mailer's c The probabilities that this was %r

* mates of the Mayflower, more than the fignature of George Morton have XX

once; while Cufhman had juft re- been fully di(cuffed in the Introduc- *'

turned from his voyage thither for a tion. See page xviii. ^^

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*

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98P^^

$$&$^^

CERTAINE VSEFVL

ADVERTISEMENTS SENT

in a Letter written by a difcreete friendd vn

to the Planters in New England* at their firft fetting

failefrom Southhampton, who earnejlly dejireth

the pro/peritie of that their new

Plantation.

lOuing and Chriftian friends, I doe heartily and in the Lord falute you all, as being they with whom I am prefent in my beft affection, and mod earneft longings after you, though I be conftrained for a while to be bodily abfent from you,e I fay conftrained, God knowing how willingly and much rather then otherwife I would haue haue borne my part with you in this firft brunt, were I not by ftrong neceflitie held backe for the prefent. Make account of me in the meane while, as of a man

* This letter of John Robinfon's is written in the latter part of July,

given in Bradford [Hift. Pfym. Plant., 1620.

pp. 64-67], and alfo in Morton [N. * Bradford has a period here; Mor

E. Mem., 6-9]. It was probably ton a colon.

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deuided in my felfe with great paine, and as (naturall bonds fet afide) hauing my better part with you. And though I doubt not but in your godly wifedomes you both forefee and refolue vpon that which concerneth your prefent [viii] date and condition both feuerally and ioyntly, yet haue I thoughtf but my dutie to adde fome further fpurre of prouocation vnto

them who run already, if not becaufe you need it, yet becaufe I owe it in loue and dutie.

And firft, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, fpeciall* for our fmnes knowne, and generall for our vnknowne trefpaffes; fo doth the Lord call vs in a lingular maner vpon occafions of fuch difficultie and danger as lieth vpon you, to a both more narrow fearch and carefull reformation of ourh wayes in his fight, left he calling to remembrance our finnes forgotten by vs or vnrepented of, take aduantage againft vs, and in iudgement leaue vs for the fame to be fwallowed vp in one danger or other; whereas on the contrary, fin being taken away by earned repentance and the pardon thereof from the Lord, fealed vp vnto a mans confcience by his Spirit, great fhall be his fecuritie and peace in all dangers, fweete his comforts in all diftrefles, with happie deliuerance from all euill, whether in life or in death.

t Bradford and Morton both add " efpecially." "it." h Bradford and Morton both read

g Bradford and Morton both read " your."

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Now next after this heauenly peace with God and our owne confciences, we are carefully to prouide for peace with all men what in vs lieth, efpecially with our affociciates, and for that end1 watchfulnes mud be. had, that we neither at all in our felues do giue, no nor eafily take offence being giuen by others. Woe be vnto the world for offences, for though it be neceffary (confidering the malice of Satan and mans

corruption) that offences come, yet woe vnto the man or woman either by whom [ix] the offence cometh, faith Chrift, Math. 18. 7. And if offences in the vnfeafonable vfe of things in themfelues indifferent, be more to be feared then death it felfe, as the Apoftle teacheth, 1. Cor. 9. 15. how much more in things fimply euill, in which neither honour of God nor loue of man is thought worthy to be regarded.

Neither yet is it fufficient that we keep our felues by the grace of God from giuing offence, except withall we be armed againft the taking of them when they arej giuen by others.k For how vnperfe<5t and lame is the worke of grace in that perfon, who wants charitie to couer a multitude of offences, as the Scriptures fpeake. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace onely vpon the common grounds of Chriftianitie, which are, that perfons ready to take offence, either want charitie to couer offences, or wifedome duly to weigh humane frailtie; or

» Bradford and Morton both omit J Bradford has "be." " end." k Morton has a colon here.

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laftly are groffe, though clofe hypocrites, as Chrift our Lord teacheth, Math. 7. 1, 2, 3, as indeed in mine owne experience, few or none haue beene found which fooner giue offence, then fuch as eafily take it; neither haue they euer proued found and profitable members in focieties, which haue nourifhed in themfelues that touchey humour.1 But befides thefe there are diuers fpetiall™ motiues prouoking you aboue others to great care and confcience this way: As firft, you are many of you ftrangers, as to the

perfons, fo to the infirmities one of another, and fo ftand in need of more watchfulneffe this way, left when fuch things fall out in men and women as you fufpedled not, you be inordinately af- [x] fe<5ted with them; which doth require at your hands much wifedome and charitie for the couering and preuenting of incident offences that way. And laftly your intended courfe of ciuill communitie11 wil minifter continuall occafion of offence, and will be as fuell for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking of offence cauflefly or eafily at mens doings be fo carefully to be auoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God himfelfe, which yet we certainly

1 Bradford reads, " which have than as an intimation that the Pil

nurifhed this touchey humor;" Mor- grims left Holland with the full in

ton, " who have nourifhed this touchy tention of eftablifhing here a popular

humour." civil government; with the good will,

» Bradford and Morton both omit if not at the prompting, of their noble

"fpetiall." pallor. And the "laftly" claufe of

n I cannot interpret this otherwife this letter confirms this view.

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do fo oft0 as we do murmure at his prouidence in our croffes, or beare impatiently fuch afflictions as wherewith he pleafeth to vifit vs. Store wep vp therefore patience againft the euill day, without which we take offence at the Lord himfelfe in his holy and iuft works.

A fourth thing there is carefully to be prouided for, to wit, that with your common emploiments you ioyne common affe<5tions truly bent vpon the generall good, auoiding as a deadly plague of your both common and fpeciall comfort all retiredneffe of minde for proper aduantage, and all Angularly affe<5ted any maner of way; let euery man repreffe in himfelfe and the whole bodie in each perfon, as fo many rebels againft the common good, all priuate refpe<5ts of mens felues, not forting with the generall conueniencie. And as men are carefull not to haue j/ a new houfe fhaken with any violence before it be well fettled and the parts firmly knit:q fo be you, I befeech you brethren, much more carefull, that the houfe of God which you are and are [xi] to be, be not fhaken with vnneceffary nouelties or other oppofitions at the firft fettling thereof.

Laftly, whereas you are tor become a body politik, vfing amongft your felues ciuill gouernment, and are not furnifhed with any perfons of fpeciall eminencie aboue

o Bradford has " oftc " (often). q Bradford has a comma,

p Bradford and Morton both omit * Bradford omits " to." we."

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the reft, to be chofen by you into office of gouernment:" Let your wifedome and godlinefle appeare, not onely in chufing fuch perfons as do entirely loue, and will diligently promote the common good, but alfo in yeelding vnto them all due honour and obedience in their lawfull adminiftrations; not beholding in them the ordinarineffe of their perfons, but God's ordinance for your good;1 nor being like vnto the foolifh multitude," who more honour the gay coate, then either the vertuous mind of the man, or glorious ordinance of the Lord. But you know better things, and that the image of the Lords power and authoritie which the Magiftrate beareth, is honorable, in how meane perfons foeuer. And this dutie you both may the more willingly, and ought the more confcionably to performe, becaufe you are at lead for the prefent to haue onely them for your ordinary gouernours, which your felues fhall make choife of for that worked

Sundrie other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of thofe before mentioned in more words, but I will not fo far wrong your godly minds, as to thinke you heedleffe of thefe things, there being alfo diuers among you fo well able to admonifh both themfelues and others of what concerneth them. Thefe few things therefore, and [*ii] the fame in few words I do earneftly com

• Bradford has a comma; Morton u Bradford and Morton both have a femicolon. it, " not being like the foolifti multi

t Bradford has a comma; Morton tude." a colon. v See note 28 poft.

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to the Planters of New-England*

mend vnto your care and confcience, ioyning therewith my daily inceflant prayers vnto the Lord, that he who hath made the heauens and the earth, the fea and all riuers of waters, and whofe prouidence is ouer all his workes, efpecially ouer all his deare children for good, would fo guide and guard you in your wayes, as inwardly by his Spirit, fo outwardly by the hand of his power, as that both you and we alfo, for and with you, may haue after matter of praifing his Name all the days of your and our Hues. Fare you well in him in whom you truft, and in whom I reft

An vnfained well-wilier of your happie fuccejfe in this hopefull voyage^

I. R.

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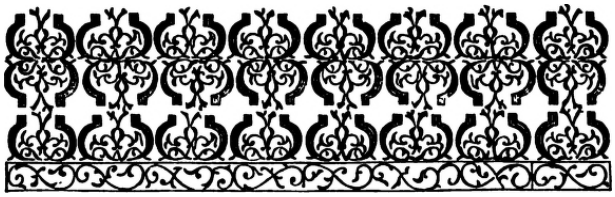

A RELATION OR

IOVRNALL OF THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE Plantation fetled at Tlimolh in

New England.'

Ednefday the fixt of September^ the Wind comming Eaft North Eaft,a a fine fmall gale, we loofed from Plimoth, hauing beene kindly intertained and curteoufly vfed by diuers friends there dwelling, and after many difficulties in boyfterous ftormes, at length by Gods prouidence vpon the ninth of Nouetn

1 Leaving Leyden in the latter part of July, 1620, the Pilgrims had arrived in the Speedwell at Southampton, Eng., and there met the Mayflower; failed thence on Saturday, * Aug.; put back into Dartmouth on account of the alleged leakage of the Speedwell, about Sunday, JJ Aug.; failed again about Wednesday, *J^Jf; but, after they were one hundred leagues from Land's End, put back once more on account of the aflerted condition

of the Speedwell, — this time intoPlymouth, where (he was difmifled, a portion of the company fent back in her to London, and the remainder — 102 perfons — failed in the Mayflower on Wednefday, *6 Sept.

a Eajl north eaft was the faireft poflible wind for leaving Plymouth, as the direct courfe down the Sound to the

Channel, and thence toward the open fea, would not be far from S.W. byS. andW.S.W. 1

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6er* following, by breake of the day we efpied land which we deemed to be Cape Cod, and fo afterward it proued. And the appearance of it much comforted vs, efpecially, feeing fo goodly a Land, and woodded to the brinke of the fea,4 it caufed vs to reioyce together, and praife God that had giuen vs once againe to fee land. And thus wee made our courfe South South Weft,5 purpofing to goe to a Riuer ten leagues [2] to the South of the Cape,6 but at night the winde being contrary,7 we put round againe

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vx* i>^r*»- a* *h-4 U<t*+ *****

3 Thurfday, £ Nov.

4 The reader who is familiar with the defolate afpect of the Cape at the prefent time, muft throw himfelf back in imagination to the time when a comely if not luxuriant growth of trees and foreft vegetation relieved that defolation, in order to underftand the feelings here exprefled.

s Bradford fays, "they tacked aboute and refolved to ftande for y« fouthward (y« wind & weather being faire) to finde fome place aboute Hudfons river for their habitation."—

[Hi/lory of Plymouth Plantation, 77.] Even with the greateft pomble offing when they made land, they could hardly have fleered long in a S. S.W. courfe, as it would have brought them directly on to the cape. An error of the prefs for fouth-fouth-M/? is not improbable.

6 Their ideas of the relative pofitions of mod points on the New England fhore were then of the vagueft.

7 Bradford fays, "After they had failed y* courfe aboute halfe y« day, they fell amongft deangerous moulds

and roring breakers, and they were fo fair intangled ther with as they conceived them felves in great danger; & ye wind fhrinking upon them wit hall, they refolved to bear up againe for the Cape, and thought them felves hapy to gett out of thofe dangers before night overtooke them, as by God's Providence they did."—[Hifl. Plym. Plant. 77.] Dr. Palfrey fuggefts \Hift. N. E.t i. 162] that thefe "moulds" might be thofe of Monomoy, near Chatham, or Nantucket Shoals. Dr. Young took the fame view [Chron. of Plym. 103]. But Mr. Amos Otis and Prof. Agafliz have made it much more probable [N. E. Hift. and Gen. Reg. xviii. 42-44] that they were thofe around what Gofnold named Point Care and Tucker's Terror [tee Archer's Account of GofnohPs Voyage, 3 Afafs. Hift. Col., viii. 74], off Eaftham and Orleans; fince obliterated by the action of the fea. The map of New England in Ogilby's huge folio lays down "Ifle Naufet" in the precife fpot affigned by Mr. Otis.

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for the Bay of Cape Cod: and vpon the n. of Nouetnber* we came to an anchor in the Bay,9 which is a good harbour and pleafant Bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is

about foure miles ouer from land to land,10 compaffed about to the very Sea with Okes, Pines, Iuniper, Saflafras, and other fweet wood; it is a harbour wherein iooo. faile of Ships may fafely ride," there we relieued our felues with wood and water, and refrefhed our people, while our fliallop was fitted to coaft the Bay, to fearch for an habitation: there was the greateft ftore of fowle,a that euer we faw.

And euery day we faw Whales13 playing hard by vs, of

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8 Saturday, \\ Nov. *U x. »*»;"? - 9 Provincetown harbor.

«° As the inner (hore of the Cape trends away S. E. by S., the diftance acrofs the entrance varies, according to the angle at which it is taken, from - - - . ~r 2i mites, which is the neareft line

f * &**+£ from Long Point light to the Eaftharbor (hore, to 5J miles, from the fame light to the opening of Pamet River, in Truro.

" The changes of near two centuries and a half have not abridged this capacity. Freeman fays [Hijlory of Cape Cod, ii. 619], "the harbor is fufficiently capacious for 3000 veflels, and is a haven of the greateft importance to navigation, whether as refpccls veflels doing bufinefs in the neighboring waters, or (hips from foreign voyages arriving on the coaft in thick and ftormy weather."

« " Sea-fowl are plenty on the ftiores jfy *>■'/* '*f. and in the bay; particularly the gannet, curlew, brant, black-duck,

feaduck, old wife, dipper, (heldrake, penguin, gull, plover, coot, widgeon, and peep." — [1 Afq/s. Hift. Co/., iii.

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»3 Douglafs fays of the whales, " Formerly they fet in along (hore by Cape Cod" [Summary, &c, i. 60]. So he elfewhere adds, " Formerly (they are paflengers according to the feafons), in New England, Cape Cod embayed them" [Ibid. i. 296]; and Freeman fays," The (liores of the Cape were, within the remembrance of perfons now living, ftrewed in places with huge bones of whales, thefe remaining unwafted many years. Fifty years back, rib-bones fet for pofts in fencing was no unufual fight" — [Hift. Cape Cod, ii. 623.]

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which in that place, if we had inftruments & meanes to take them, we might haue made a very rich returne, which to our great griefe we wanted. Our matter and his mate, and others experienced in fifhing, profeffed, we might haue made three or foure thoufand pounds worth of Oyle; they preferred it

before Greenland Whale-fifhing, & purpofe the next winter to fifh for Whale here; for Cod we aflayed, but found none, there is good (lore no doubt in their feafon.14 Neither got we any fifh all the time we lay there, but fome few little ones on the fhore. We found great Mufsles,15 and very fat and full of

14 It is not likely that they fiftied outfide of the harbor; nor would they have caught cod, even there, at that time of the year. They probably took only the fmall " bar-fifh," as they are now called, which are caught in the eaft end of the harbor.

«s Dr. Freeman and Dr. Young fuppofed that the giant clam, or fea-hen, (mafira folidijfima) is here referred to. But Capt Smith — whofe Defcriptiou of New England, publiftied in 1616, mull have been in the hands of the Mayflower men, and their chief authority and guide—fpeaks of clams (clampes) as found, with lobfters, in almoft all the fandy bays; fo that they would moft likely have known that fifh by that name. Muflels (mytilus edulis) they were familiar with at home; and as thefe are found in abundance about low-water mark in Long Point, near their anchorage, while the giant clam is only found on

the bars at the eaft end of Provincetown, and along the Truro fhore, and is acceflible only at the lowed tides, and would feem, therefore, to have been fo much more removed from their ready difcovery, it is perhaps moft probable that muflels, of a fize to them unfamiliar, — probably the mytilus modiolus, — were what they meant. The hearty eating of thefe, after fixty-four days of fait provender, might produce the defcribed effects upon their fyftems ; indeed, under any circumftances, at certain feafons, fuch refults might follow. "There can be no doubt of the poifonous qualities of fhellfifh, particularly muffels and clams, at certain feafons." — [Dr. Benj. Hafkell, of Rockport, in Appendix to Mufley's Health, its

Friends and its Foes, p. 369.] The mention of " pearls" — which are plentifully found in muflels, but not in clams — confirms this view.

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Sea pearle, but we could not eat them, for they made vs all ficke that did eat, as well faylers as paflengers; they caufed to caft and fcoure, but they were foone well againe. The bay is fo round & circling, that before we could come to anchor, we went round all the points of the Compaffe. We could not come neere the fliore by three quarters of an Englifh mile, becaufe of (hallow water,'6 which was a great preiudice to vs, for our people going on fhore were forced to wade a bow (hoot or two in going a-land, which caufed many to get colds and coughs, for it was ny times freezing cold weather.

This day before we came to harbour, obferuing fome not well affedted to vnitie and concord, but gaue fome appearance of faction,17 it was thought good there fhould

16 "As there are flats extending fome diftance from the fettlement, veflels ufually anchor about three fourths of a mile from the (hore."—[Freeman, Hift. Cape Cod, ii. 619.] The Provi nee town (hore is what is referred to. It will be feen further along that the Mayflower anchored in deep water within a furlong of Long Point.

«7 Says Bradford, " I (hall a litle returne backe and begine with a combination made by them before they came afhore, being y« firft foundation of their govermente in this place; occafioned partly by y« difcontented & mutinous fpeeches that fome of the (hangers amongft them [i. e. not Leyden

men, but adventurers who joined them in England] had let fall from

them in y« (hip, That when they came a (hore they would ufe their owne libertie; for none had power to command them, the patente they had being for Virginia, and not for Newengland, which belonged to an other Government, with which y« Virginia Company had nothing to doe. And partly that (huch an a&e by them done (this their condition confidered) might be as firme as any patent, and in fome refpetts more fure."— \Hift. Plym. Plant, 89.] Morton fays, " It was thought meet for their more orderly Carrying on of their Affairs, and accordingly by mutual confent they entred into a folemn Combination as a Body Politick, To fubmit to fuch Government and Governours, Laws

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be an aflbciation and agreement, that we fliould combine together [3] in one body, and to fubmit to fuch government and governours, as we fliould by common confent agree to make and chofe, and fet our hands to this that followes word for word.

IN the name of God, Amen, We whofe names are vnderwritten, the loyall Subiedls of our dread foveraigne Lord King Iames, by the grace of God of Great Britaine^ France^ and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Having vnder-taken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Chriftian Faith, and ,8 honour of our King and Countrey, a Voyage to plant the firft Colony in the Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by thefe prefents folemnly & mutually in the prefence of God and one of,9 another, covenant, and combine our felues together into a civill body politike, for our better ordering and prefervation, and furtherance of the ends aforefaid; and by vertue hereof to" enadl, conftitute, and frame fuch iuft and equall Lawes, Ordinances, a<5ts, conftitutions," offices from time to time, as fhall be thought mod meet and convenient for the generall good of the Colony: vnto

and Ordinances, as fliould by a general Confent from time to time be made choice of, and aflented unto." —[N. E. Memorial, ift ed., p. 14.]

«« Morton inferts "the."—[N. £. Memorial, p. 15.]

«9 Morton leaves out " of."

*> Morton has "do" inflead of "to;"

evidently an error of the prefs. « Bradford [Hi/1. Plym. Plant., 90]

and Morton both infert " and " here;

but Morton mifprints "officers."

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which we promife all due fubmiflion and obedience. In witneffe whereof we haue here-vnder" fubfcribed our names,23 Cape Cod M n. of November\ in the yeare of*5 the raigne of our foveraigne Lord King Iames, of England^ France, and Ireland * 18. and of Scotland 54. Anno Domino I620.*7

^

** Morton fays, " hereunto." »a Bradford and Morton both here infert "at"

*4 Bradford and Morton both infert "the."

>s Morton leaves out the words "the yeare of."

** Bradford and Morton both here infert "the," and again before "54;" and read " 18th " and " 54th."

7 The names of the figners of this mod interefting and fignificant docu, ment were firfl printed by Nathaniel f .' (? Morton, in 1669, in the New-England ^^Memorial, As corrected by Prince, and illuftrated by Bradford in the Appendix to his Hiftory, they (land as /follows, with the

number reprefented by each, and the names of their families: viz.,—

1. John Carver (8).

Catherine, his wife. Defire M inter. John Howland, "> menRoger Wilder, \ fervants. William Latham, , Jafper More, A maid-fervant.

2. William Bradford (2).

Dorothy, his wife.

' I boys.

Edward Winflow (5).

Elizabeth, his wife.

George Soule, > men

Elias Story, > fervants.

Ellen More. William Brewfler (6).

Mary, his wife.

Love, I.

Wreftling, J

■fons.

Richard More, > , More, {b°3*

5. Ifaac Allerton (6).

Mary, his wife. Bartholomew,) Remember, > children. Mary,)

John Hooke, boy.

6. Miles Standifh (2).

Rofe, his wife.

7. John Alden (1).

8. Samuel Fuller (1). [His fervant,

William Butten, had d. at fea.]

9. Chriftopher Martin (4).

, his wife.

Solomon Prower, \ menJohn Langemore,) fervants. 10. William Mullins (5). , his wife.

• children.

Jofeph,] Prifcilla, \ Robert Carter, fervant

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The fame day fo foon as we could we fet a-fhore 15. or 16. men, well armed, with fome to fetch wood, for we

I chilf dren.

11. William White (5).

Sufanna, his wife. Refolved, fon. William Holbeck, \
menEdward Thomfon,y fervants.

12. Richard Warren (1).

13. John Howland. [Of John Car

ver^ family above.]

14. Stephen Hopkins (8).

Elizabeth, his wife. Giles, Conftance, Damans,

Oceanus, b. at fea. Edward Doten,) menEdward Leifter, >
fervants.

15. Edward Tilley (4).

Ann, his wife.

Henry Samfon,) children in

Humility Cooper, > their care.

16. John Tilley (3).

, his wife.

Elizabeth, daughter.

17. Francis Cook (2).

John, his fon.

18. Thomas Rogers (2).

Jofeph, his fon.

19. Thomas Tinker (3).

, his wife.

, fon.

20. John Ridgdale (2).

Alice, his wife.

21. Edward Fuller (3).

Ann, his wife. Samuel, fon.

22. John Turner (3).

fons.

23.

24.

25. 26.

27. 28. 29. 30. 3i. 32. 33. 34. 35.

36. 37. 38.

39. 40.

4i.

Francis Eaton (3).

Sarah, his wife.

Samuel, fon. James Chilton (3).

, his wife.

Mary, daughter. John Crackftone (2).

John, his fon. John Billington (4).

Ellen, his wife.

i0hn\ Ifons. Francis, >

Mofes Fletcher (1).

John Goodman (1).

Digory Prieft (1).

Thomas Williams (1).

Gilbert Winflow (1).

Edmond Margefon (1).

Peter Brown (1).

Richard Britteridge (1).

George Soule. [Of Ed. Winf

low's family above.] Richard Clark (1). Richard Gardiner (1). John Allerton (1). Thomas Englilh (1). Edward Doten. [Of Stephen

Hopkins's family above.] Edward Leifter. [Do.]

::!

This lift of Morton's adds up to forty-one figners; who, according to Bradford's lift, at this date, reprefented exactly one hundred perfons. Bradford adds \Hift. Plym. Plant., 450], " There were allfo other 2 feamen hired to ftay a year here in the country,—William Trevore, and one Ely.

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had none left;*8 as alfo to fee what the Land was, and what Inhabitants they could meet with, they found it*9

But when their time was out they both returned." As they were thus to be merely temporary refidents, they were not probably requefted to fign the compact, which looked forward toward fome permanent government here.

It will be noticed that while one of Carver's men-fervants, one of Winflow's, and both of Hopkins's, affixed their names to this paper; the other fervant of Carver (Roger Wilder), the other of Window (Elias Story), with the two of Chriftopher Martin (Solomon Prower and John Langemore), the two of William White (William Holbeck and Edward Thomfon), and that of William Mullins (Robert Carter),— feven in all, — did not fign it. Some have conjectured that the names of all the adult male members of the company not found there mould be added to Morton's lift; but as keeper — in his official capacity—of the public records, from 1645 to X^S> there is a ftrong probability that the Secretary had in his pofleffion, and copied from, the original compact with its actual fignatures,—a document which, from the nature of the cafe, they would have taken pains to preferve. It is poffible that fuch of the fervants only as, on the one hand, fpecially deferved the honor, or, on the other, fpecially needed the reftraint, of becoming parties to fuch an agreement, were invited to fign it; to the former of which clafles one might fancy John Howland to belong, and to the latter, Edward

Doten and Edward Leifter. It is more probable — as Bradford fays \Hift. Plym. Plant.,. 450-52] thefe feven all died foon — that they were ailing at this time, and fo out of the way at the figning.

Counting the two hired feamen, the entire Mayflower company—as diftintt from her crew—con filled thus of one hundred and two perfons.

»« Prince [Annals, ed. 1736, p. 73] fays, referring to Bradford's authority, they on the fame day " chufe Mr. John Carver, a pious and well approved gentleman, their Governor for the firft year." But Bradford \Hift. Plym. Plant, 90] fays, "After this they chofe, or rather confirmed, Mr. John Carver, &c," whom Morton exactly copies \N. E. Memorial, 16]. So that I do not find here any abfolute proof that the election of Carver took place on the fame day on which the compact was figned; the more efpecially as Bradford immediately connects his ftatement, juft quoted, with fome particulars which did not take place until after the commencement of the fettlement at Plymouth. It is mod reafonable to fuppofe, however, — in the abfence of any evidence to the contrary, — that the election of fome perfon as chief magi (Irate would immediately follow the formal recognition of a body corporate.

*9 Dr. Young endorfes Dr. Freeman [1 Mafs. Hift. Coll., viii. 206] in the judgment that this party landed on

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to be a fmall neck of Land; on this fide where we lay

is the Bay, and the further fide the Sea; the ground or

earth, fand hils, much like the Downes-*in Holland, but

much better;30 the cruft of the earth a Spits depth/excel

* lent blacke earth;3' all wooded with Okes, Pines, Saffa

fras, Iuniper, Birch, Holly, Vines, fome Afh, Walnut;32

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Long Point, and that their explorations were mainly confined to the neck which feparates Provincetown (, harbor from Cape Cod Bay. But it

Ju*~. l«#f.&.-€C *W$fctmB to me far from improbable that they landed not far from Stevens's Point, and that their explorations extended acrofs the end of the Cape, between Race Point and Wood End, fo that by the fea on " the further fide " they meant the Atlantic, and not "Barnftable Bay," as Dr. Freeman confidered. They ftarted, probably, early in the day, and were gone till night, fo that they had time to roam largely over that weftern half of Provincetown, the whole of which is only 3$ miles in extreme length, by an average of not much over 2 in breadth; the more efpecially as the wooded portion was clear of underbrufh, and fo "fit to goe or ride in." One object they had in view was to find inhabitants ; but one would think they muft have been well allured, by the view which they got of Long Point in failing round it into harbor, whether there were inhabitants there or not

3© That portion of Holland with which the Pilgrims had become familiar, fkirting the North Sea, abounds

in fand dunes fimilar to thofe on the New-England coaft; it being eftimated that they have an extent there of 140.000 acres. — [Marfh's Man and Nature, p. 507.]

31 " Spit-deep, as deep as the table of a fpade ; as much ground in depth as may be digged up at once with a fpade."—[Bailey."] Where the trees and brufh have not been removed, or buried under the fand which every wind blows in from the beach, this "blacke earth," a dark vegetable mold, the collection of centuries, dill remains. The change, from that day of fertility to the prefent extenfive barrennefs and defolation of the Cape, is primarily due to the removal of the trees. [See an eloquent, as well as profound, difcuflion of the fubjeft in MarnYs Man and Nature, fummed up, pp. 214-217.]

3* That the Cape was formerly covered with large trees is proved, (1) from the fall that their dumps now occafionally appear, when the fuperincumbent fand is blown off by fome high wind; (2) by the tedimony of the moft aged inhabitants, who well remember the vandalifm which cut them down for the purpofe of making

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the wood for the mod part open and without vnder-wood, fit either to goe or ride in: at night our people retur[4] ned, but found not any perfon, nor habitation, and laded their Boat with Iuniper, which fmelled very fweet & ftrong, and of which we burnt the mod part of the time we lay there.

Munday the 13. of November™ we vnfhipped our Shallop and drew her on land, to mend and repaire her, having bin forced to cut her downe in beftowing her betwixt the decks, and (he was much opened with the peoples

charcoal with which to boil down feawater to fait; (3) by the actual prefence, in the eaft part of the village of Provincetown, of a few furviving reprefentatives of the old growth. Mod if not all of the growths mentioned in this "Relation" are ftill found in Provincetown and its vicinity. Thofe here fpecified appear to be the following: viz., — Oaks (white), Quercus alba (now mod common), (red), Quercus rubra. (black), Quercus tincloria. Pine (pitch) Pinus rigida. Saffafras, Sajfafras officinale. Juniper (red cedar), Juniperus Vir

giniana. Birch (white), Betula populifolia. Holly (evergreen), Ilex opaca. Afh (white), Fraxinus acuminata. Walnut

(mockernut hickory), Carya tomentofa; or (pig-nut hickory), Carya porcina. The vines were, probably the com

mon wild-grape (Vitis labrufca), and perhaps the greenbrier (Smilax rotundifolia), Virginian creeper, (AmPelopfis quinquefolia), hairy honeyfuckle (Lonicera hirfuta), and poifon ivy (Rhus toxicodendron). On what is called the "Ifland," about a mile weft of Eaft Harbor meadow, grapevines ftill grow which bear a fmall, inferior grape, holding about the fame relation to the cultivated grape that the beach-plum has to the garden plum.

Eighteen years before the Mayflower anchored here, Gofnold took on board, from this end of the Cape, for firewood, "cyprefe [juniper], birch, witchhazel and beech."—[Archer's Hift., in 3 Afafs. Hift. Coll., viii. 74.] In 1614, Captain John Smith faw Cape Cod as " a headland of high hills of fand, overgrown with (hrubby pines, hurts [whortleberry-bufhes] and fuch tra(h." — [Defeription of New England, in 3 Afafs. Hift. Coll., vi. 119.]

33 Monday, J* Nov.

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lying in her,34 which kept vs long there, for it was 16. or 17. dayes before the Carpenter had finifhed her; our people went on fhore to refrefh themfelues, and our women to wafh, as they had great need ;3S but whileft we

34 Bradford fays, " They having brought a large fhalop with them out of England, flowed in quarters in y* (hip, they now gott her out & fett their carpenters to worke to trime her up; but being much brufed & fhatered in y« fhipe w* foule weather, they faw (he would be longe in mending."—[Zfijfc Plytn. Plant,, 80.]

35 There are no fprings in Provincetown, and, from the fact, mentioned farther on, that the firft exploring party drank their firft draught of NewEngland water at the fprings in Truro, it is clear that they had found no water which they efteemed drinkable in Provincetown. The frefh-water pond now neareft to the harbor is " Shank Painter," which is nearly half a mile from the prefent high-water mark, and which muft then have been concealed from view from the deck of the Mayflower by the intervening foreft. Where, then, did the women find water for their need of waftiing ?

The changes of a peculiarly changeable region must be had in mind in giving an anfwer. A careful ftudy of the topography of the locality has led to the conclufion that there was formerly a frefli-water pond of confiderable fize, feparated from the fea by a narrow fand-beach, which pond has become wholly obliterated, — on the

lower fide by the influx of the fea, and on the upper fide by the encroachments of the fand. It was fituated between the N. W. portion of High Hill and the prefent low-water mark, and muft have been at leaft a quarter of a mile in breadth

by, fay, feveneighths in length: including in its upper half a fedion of the town, fay from Union wharf on the S. W. to Cook's wharf on the eaft; and in its lower half a confiderable fe&ion of the prefent harbor, where veflels now, at full fea, come up between thefe wharves. The evidence in the cafe may be briefly ftated thus:—(1) there is a ftrip, low down on the flats, laid bare by the daily ebb, which may be traced as prefumably the foundation of the narrow beach, — the beach on which the women wafhed their clothes; (2) frefhwater mud, with peat, roots, and other traces of fwamp growths, may ftill be identified under the fuperincumbent falt-mud and fand within the embrace of the aforefaid ftrip, —the mud fometimes being prefled up to the furface through the fubfequent fand-layer, by the weight of veflels refting on the flats at low water; (3) in digging wells and refervoirs in that portion of the village embraced within this area, there are found (a) fand, (b) falt-water mud, (c) a few inches of fand, (d) frefh-water

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lay thus ftill, hoping our Shallop would be ready in fiue or fixe dayes at the furtheft, but our Carpenter made flow worke of it, fo that fome of our people impatient of delay, defired for our better furtherance to travaile by Land into the Countrey, which was not without appearance of danger, not having the Shallop with them, nor meanes to carry provifion, but on their backes, to fee whether it might be fit for vs to feate in or no, and the rather becaufe as we fayled into the

Harbour, there feemed to be a river opening it felfe into the maine land;36 the willingnes of the perfons was liked, but the thing it felfe, in regard of the danger was rather permitted then approved, and fo with cautions, directions, and inftru<5tions, fixteene men were fet out with every man his Mufket, Sword, and Corflet,37 vnder the condudl of Captaine Miles Standifli* vnto whom was adioyned for

mud, peat, &c, with occafional Humps of trees, fometimes of considerable fize. That this pond — thus demonftrated — exifted in 1620, and that its narrow feparating beach had not been fwept away in fome fearful ftorm which let in the all-devouring ocean before that time, is rendered nearly certain by the obferved progrefs of the fea during the lad century; and various weighty circumftances, for which we can not make room here, combine to produce the decided judgment that this progrefs of the ocean has been within the laft century and a quarter.

36 Pamet River, the mouth of which is diilant 5 J miles S. E. by £. from Long Point light, and which, in 1794, was about 300 feet broad at the mouth, and wider within. — [1 Afq/s. Hifl. Coll.y iii. 196.] • ■

37 The corfelet was a piece of defenfive armor covering the breaft from the neck to the girdle ; in diftinclion from the cuirafs, which added a back piece buckled on each fide to the corfelet.

38 Miles Standijh is fuppofed to have been born at Duxbury Hall, near Chorley, in Lancafhire, fome twentythree miles N. £. from Liverpool, in

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counfell and advife, William Bradford*9 Stephen Hopkins,* and Edward Tilley Sl

after the death of John Carver, and was governor every year until his death, except five ; died at Plymouth, * May, 1657, aged 67 years, 1 month, 20 days.—[Hunter's Founders of New Ply mouth, 99-116, 198-9; Savage, Gen. Ditt., i. 231; N. E. Hift. and Gen. Reg., iv. 45 ; Leyden Mfs. Rec.

4<» Stephen Hopkitis had married and had two children (Giles and Confiance) ; loft his wife, and married again Elizabeth , and had daughter

' 1584; ferved as a foldier in the Low Countries; became interefted in the Pilgrims, and joined them, though not one of their church; brought over only his wife Rofe, who died a month after the landing; he next married

Barbara , who is fuppofed to

have come in the Ann, in 1623. He was conftantly engaged in the public fervice; was Aftiftant nineteen years; went to London for the colony in 1625, returning the following fpring. About 1631 he fetded on "Captain's Hill," in Duxbury, on condition, at firft, of moving into Plymouth "in the winter time that they may the better repair to the worfhip of God;" there he died, t3 Oct., 1656, aged 72. He named, in his will, four fons — Alexander, Miles, Jofiah, and Charles — and a deceafed daughter, Lora. — [Savage, Gen. Did., iv. 162; Plym. Col. Rec, xii. 6; Winter's Hift. Duxbury, 320; N. E. Hift. and Gen. Reg., v. 335-338.]

39 William Bradford was the fon of William and Alice (Hanfon) Bradford, and was born at Aufterfield, Eng> % March> l5% Earlv uniting himfelf with the Scrooby movement, he went to Holland with the church; w D«.'> l6l3» married, at Leyden, Dorothy ' May,- of " Witzbuts " (Wifbeach ?), Eng., who was drowned at Cape Cod, J Dec, 1620; next married, I* Aug., 1623, Alice (Carpenter) Southworth; had John, William, Mercy, and Jofeph ; was chofen governor

Damans and fon Oceanus (born on the voyage), before the date of this mention. His fecond wife lived above twenty years at Plymouth, and they had another fon (Caleb) and four daughters (Deborah, Ruth, Elizabeth,

). He was Afliftant, 1633-6, and

died in the latter part of June or firft of July, 1644.—[Savage, Gen. Dift., ii. 462; N. E. Hift. and Gen. Reg., iv. 281.]

4« Edward Tilley came with his wife Ann and two children "that were their coflens, Henery Samfon and Humillity Coper." He was probably alfo elder brother of John, who brought over his wife, and daughter Elizabeth. All of both

families died in the firft mortality, except Henry Samfon and Elizabeth Tilley; the former of whom married Ann Plummer, and had nine children, the latter, John Howland (Carver's fervant), and had ten.— [Savage, Gen. Dift., iv. 302; Bradford's Plym. Plant., 449-453; Vinton's Giles Memorial, 374.]

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IN AMERICA

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Wednefday the 15. of Novemberf they were fet a fhore,43 and when they had ordered themfelues in the order of a fmgle File, and marched about the fpace of a myle, by the Sea44 they efpyed fiue or fixe people, with a Dogge, comming towards them, who were Savages, who when they faw them ran into the Wood and whifled the Dogge after them, &c. Firft, they fuppofed them to be mafter Zones, the Mafter45 and fome of his men, for they were a-fhore, and knew of their comming, but after they knew them to be Indians they mar- [5] ched after them into the Woods/6 lead other of the Indians fhould lie in Ambufh; but when the Indians faw ouf men following

4* Wednefday, JJ Nov. ^

43 From the fads, that they had, clearly, already landed at the pond on the Provincetown fhore ; that they more than once fpeak of having to wade three-fourths of a mile in landing, while the water feems to have been bold at Long Point; and that for exploration they would naturally wifh to

fave their (Irength from vainly traverfing the entire length of Long Point; it feems evident that this party were fet on fhore fomewhere near the prefent fite of the village of Provincetown, moil likely on the weflern end of the beach where the women warned their clothes, near Payne's Hill.

44 They probably flruck inland over Telegraph Hill, and fo back of Mill Hill along the high land fkirting the pond; when they faw the Indians approaching over the beach from the

eaft. The " fpace of a myle " would have brought them nearly to the crefl of High Hill.

45 Mafter Jones's firft name does not appear. Thacher \HiJl. Plytn., 48] fays that he came over again, Aug., 1622, as mafter of the Difcovery; but Bradford —who [HiJL Plytn. Plant., 68] calls the captain of the Mayflower " Mr. Joans," and refers to him four or five times afterward — fpeaks [Ibid. 127] of the mafter of the Difcovery as " one Captaine Jons," without any hint that it was the fame man; fo that I doubt if it were.

46 The land around Duck Pond was, doubtlefs, then denfely wooded. I imagine that the Indians made for thofe woods, and then ran out of them around the north end of Great Pond over toward Negro Head, and fo to the eaft towards Truro.

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them, they ran away with might and mayne, and our men turned out of the Wood after them, for it was the way they intended to goe,47 but they could not come neare them. They followed them that night about ten miles48 by the trace of their footings, and faw how they had come the fame way they went49 and at a turning perceived how they run vp an hill,50 to fee whether they followed them. At length night came vpon them, and they were conftrained to take vp their lodging, fo they fet forth three Sentinells, and the reft, fome kindled a fire, and others fetched wood, and there held our Randevous that night.51 In the morning53 fo foone as we could fee the trace, we proceeded on our iourney, & had the tracke

47 If, on the previous Saturday, the

exploring party furveyed the weftern

half of Provincetown, — as I have

fuggefted, — it would be natural that

they fhould now intend to furvey the

eaftern ; which would lead them over

between Dutch and Great ponds to

the ocean fide, as they now went, after

the Indians.

*.^L./a1). *8 It is fafe to judge that a man, be

fy*'*»+lKt%iiT ne PHgrim- or otherwife, who, with a

rtm.. Jheavv matchlock, fword. and corfelet

•heavy matchlock, fword, and corfelet, runs a half mile on Cape Cod, even m in its bed eftate, will feel as if he-had run a mile, and eftimate diftances accordingly. -Xhis*"party, if they fol

Jowed the Indians north between the ponds, and then eaft to the neighborhood of Stout's Creek, — making allowance for all their probable windings,— mud have marched not far

from feven miles before they encamped for the night

49 That is, they inferred, from feeing the tracks which the Indians had made in coming as well as in going, that they were now returning toward their homes; whence they had probably been drawn by the infrequent fight of the (hip acrofs the bay.

so If my theory is correct that the party took this route, Negro Head — which is eighty-eight feet high, and which is near their "turning" around the end of Great Pond to go eafl — feems likeliefl to have been this hill.

5' Suppofed to be in the neighborhood of Stout's Creek, formerly a fmall branch of Eaft Harbor, in Truro,— now extinct from the encroachments of the land.

5* Thurfday, Jj Nov.

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vntill we had compaffed the head of a long creake,53 and there they tooke into another wood,54 and we after them, fuppofing to finde fome of their dwellings, but we marched thorow boughes and buflies, and vnder hills and vallies, which tore our very Armour in peeces,55 and yet could meete with none of them, nor their houfes, nor finde any frefh water, which we greatly defired, and flood in need off, for we brought neither Beere nor Water with vs, and our victuals was onely Bisket and Holland cheefe, and a little Bottle of aquavite? fo as we were fore a thirft. About ten a clocke we came into a deepe Valley,57 full of brufh, wood-gaile, and long graffe,58 through which we

53 Eaft-Harbor Creek, which almoft cuts through to the ocean fide. " At the head of Eaft-Harbor Creek, the Atlantic is feparated but by half a dozen rods of fand from the tidewaters of the Bay." — [Thoreau's Cape Cody p. 166.]

54 Clearing the end of Eaft-Harbor Creek, they turned toward the fouth, which would bring them toward the woods, which feem to have covered the ridges and central portion— back from the ocean on the N. E. and the bay on the S. W.

55 Dr. Freeman faid, in 1801, "Excepting the trees and bufhes, which have difappeared, this is an exadl defcription of that part of Truro called Eaft Harbor." — [1 Afq/s. Hift. Coll. viii. 208.]

56 "Aqua vifaey a fort of cordial Liquor formerly made of brewed Beer

ftrongly hopp'd, well fermented; now (1730) it is commonly underftood of Spirits, Geneva, and the like." — [Bailey.]

57 The valley which contains the four or five fcattering houfes which now reprefent what ufed to be the village of Eaft Harbor, in Truro; perhaps one and one half miles W. N. W. from Highland Light

58 Brufh.—A general name for wild rofe-buflies (Rofa lucida), bufh-whortleberry (Vaccinium dumofum), low blueberry (Vaccinium Pennfylvanicum), bearberry (Arftoftaphylos uva ur/ij, brown crowberry (Oakefia conradij, pimpernel (Anagallis arvenfis), beach-plum (Prunus marilima),

beach-pea (Lalhyrus maritimus), fhad-bu(h (Amclanchier ovalis)% and other coarfe fhrubby and weedy growths which are ftill found in, or

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found little paths or trails, and there we faw a Deere, and found fprings of frefh water,59 of which we were heartily glad, and fat vs downe and drunke our firft NewEngland water with as much delight as euer we drunke drinke in all our Hues. When we had refreflied our felues, we directed our courfe full South, that we might come to the fhore, which within a fhort while after we did, and there made a fire, that they in the fhip might fee where wee were (as we had direction)60 and fo marched on towards this fuppofed River; and as we went in another valley, we found a fine cleere Pond of frefh water, being about a Musket fhot broad, and

twife as long;6* there grew alfo many fmall vines, [6] and Foule and Deere haunted there; there grew much Safafras:

not far from, the fame localities.— [See Thoreau's Cape Cod, paffim.]

IVood-gaile, Dr. Young thought to be the Sweet gale (Myrica gale), but I am not aware that any trace of that exifls on the Cape; while a fecond fpecies of the fame family, the Bay-berry (Myrica cerifera), grows in that region abundantly to this day.

Long Grafs.—Beach gra/s (color magroJHs arenaria) was undoubtedly what they meant.

59 In 1801, Dr. Freeman dated that in this valley was a fwamp, called Dyer's Swamp, around Which were formerly fprings of frefh water, with a few then ftill remaining. But the remorfelefs fand has now fo obliterated them that for at leaft a genera

tion there has been no fign of fprings there, — only a hollow, overgrown with bufhes.

6o Bradford fays, " Afterwards they directed their courfe to come to y« other more, for they knew it was a necke of land they were to crofle over, and fo at length gott to y« feafide." — [Hi/l. Plym. Plant, 81.] A S. W. courfe would bring them to the more of the bay within the diftance of a mile from Dyer's Swamp; while their fire built there on the fhore could not have been diftant much more than four miles acrofs the bay, very nearly due E. from the anchorage of the Mayflower.

6i This was the little lake which gives name to the Pond Village in

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from thence we went on & found much plaine ground,61 about fiftie Acres, fit for the Plow, and fome fignes where the Indians had formerly planted their corne; after this, l'f fome thought it beft for neareneffe of the river to goe downe and travaile on the Sea fands, by which meanes fome of our men were tyred, and lagged behind, fo we flayed and gathered them vp, and ftruck into the Land againe;63 where we found a little path to certaine heapes of fand, one whereof was covered with old Matts, and had a woodden thing like a morter whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot layd in a little hole at the end thereof; we mufing what it might be, digged & found

Truro. Thoreau, who vifited it in 1855, defcribes it as "a pond threeeighths of a mile long denfely filled with cat-tail flags \Typha latifolid\ feven feet high,—enough for all the coopers in New England." — \Cape Cod, 130.] Although "a fine cleere Pond" in 1620, the added mention of vines, &c, indicates fwampy tendencies at that time. [See Dr. Fobes's account of the filling up of Fowling Pond, in Raynham, within a much more recent period, in 1 Afq/s. Hift. Coll, iii. 172.]

6a Proceeding fouthward toward Pamet River, of which they were in fearch, they would next come to a fection of elevated table-land, now traceable between Pond Village and Great Hollow; perhaps three-fourths of a mile W. N. W. of the famous old Truro meeting-houfe, painted by

" the dark brown years," now (landing no longer.

63 Probably following up the Great Hollow valley from its mouth on the bay; fo that the place of graves was doubtlefs fomewhere in what is now the village of Great Hollow. Their filence in regard to the Great Swamp in Truro feems to be accounted for by this detour to the beach. They ftruck down to the "fea-fands" juft before they would have come to it, and then going up again through Great Hollow, parted by it while they were on the fhore. The fwamp is about half way between Pond Village and Great Hollow, fay three-fourths of a mile from each, almoft due W. from the old Truro meeting-houfe, and is now feparated from the fhore of the bay by a beach of not more than two hundred feet in width.

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a Bow, and, as we thought, Arrowes, but they were rotten; We fuppofed there were many other things, but becaufe we deemed them graues,64 we put in the Bow againe and made it vp as it was, and left the reft vntouched, becaufe we thought it would be odious vnto them to ranfacke their Sepulchers. We went on further and found new ftubble, of which they had gotten Corne this yeare, and many Wallnut

trees full of Nuts,65 and great ftore of Strawberries,66 and fome Vines;67 pafling thus a

64 Schoolcraft (ays the Indians " choofe dry and elevated places for burial, which are completely out of the reach of floods or (landing water." —[Hi/l. Indian Tribes of the U. S., ii. 69.] And Roger Williams (ays, " Upon the Grave is fpread the Mat that the party died on, the Dim he eat in, &c." — [Key, &c, in R.-I Hi/l. Coll., i. 161.]

65 The mockernut hickory (Carya tomentofa)—which grows on a poorer foil than the fhellbark (Carya alba) and more prevails in the eaflern and fouthern parts of Maflachufetts — ripens its fruit in October; fo that, in the mild winter of 1620, the trees might be expected, in November, to be dill "full of nuts."

66 Strawberry vines (Fragaria Virginiana, or vefca). Roger Williams fays, " This.Berry is the wonder of all the Fruits growing naturally in thofe parts: it is of itfelfe Excellent: fo that one of the chiefeft Doctors of England was wont to fay, that God could have made, but God never did

make a better Berry: In fome parts where the Natives have planted " [he does not mean planted (Irawberryvines, but tilled the foil with corn, &c, and fo invited its creepers to a richer bed] " I have many times feen as many as would fill a good (hip within a few miles compafTe." — [Key, &c, in R.-I. Hi/l. Coll., i. 90.] " Strawberries grew there abundantly [1855] in the little hollows on the edge of the defert, (landing amid the beach-grafs in the (and." —[Thoreau, Cape Cod, 187.]

67 Grape-vines. Thomas Morton fays, " Of this kind of trees, there are that beare grapes of three colours, that is to fay: white, black and red." He adds, "The Country is fo apt for

vines that (but for the fire at the fpring of the yeare) the vines would fo over fpreade the land, that one mould not be able to pafle for them; the fruit is as bigg of fome as a muflcet bullet, and is excellent in tafle."— [NewEnglijh Canaan, in Force's Trafts, Vol. 11., v. 45. See alfo Wood's NewEngland's Prof petty ch. v.]

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field or two, which were not great, we came to another, which had alfo bin new gotten,68 and there we found where an houfe had beene, and foure or fiue old Plankes layed together; alfo we found a great Ketle, which had beene fome Ships ketle and brought out of Europe-** there was alfo an heape of fand, made like the former, but it was newly done, we might fee how they had padled it with their hands, which we digged vp, and in it we found a little old Basket full of faire Indian Corne, and digged further & found a fine great new Basket full of very faire corne of this yeare, with fome 36. goodly eares of corne, fome yellow, and fome red, and others mixt with blew, which was a very goodly fight: the Basket70 was round, and narrow at the top, it held about three or foure

68 That is, another field where the ftubble fhowed that the Indians had newly "gotten corne." In Champlain's Voyages there is a plate representing Indian cornfields and wigwams on Cape Cod, in 1605. Thoreau fays, in 1855, " We were furprifed to hear of the great crops of corn which are dill

raifed [on the Cape] notwithftanding the real and apparent barrennefs."—[Cape Cod, 33.]

69 Thefe were, mod likely, the traces of the company to which Bradford refers when he fays \Hift, Plym, Plant., 98], that about 1617 "a French (hip was caft away at Cap-Codd, but y« men gott afhore, & faved their lives, and much of their vittails & other goods." He adds that the In

dians killed all but three or four, ufing the furvivors worfe than flaves; two of whom Captain Dermer redeemed.

70 " Their Barnes are holes made in the earth, that will hold a Hogfhead of corne a peece in them. In thefe (when their corne is out of the hufke and well dried) they lay their ftore in greate bafkets (which they make of Sparke) with matts under about the fides and on the top: and putting it into the place made for it, they cover it with earth : and in this manner it is preferved from deftruction or putrifa6lion; to be ufed in cafe of neceflity and not elfe." — [NeW'Engli/h Canaan, in Force's Trans, Vol. H., v. 30.] m.<. -: «. ^/«• ft • ***.*«••'.

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Bufhels, which was as much as two of vs could lift vp from the ground, and was very handfomely and cunningly made; But whilft wee were bufie about thefe things, we fet our men Sentinell in a round ring, all but two [7] or three which digged vp the corne. We were in fufpence, what to doe with it, and the Ketle, and at length after much confutation, we concluded to take the Ketle, and as much of the Corne as we could carry away with vs; and when our Shallop came, if we could find any of the people, and come to parley with them, we would giue them the Ketle againe, and fatisfie them for their Corne,71 fo we tooke all the eares and put a good deale of the loofe Corne in the Ketle for two men to bring away on a ftaffe; befides, they that could put any into their Pockets filled the fame; the reft wee buried againe, for we were fo laden with Armour that we could carry no more. Not farre from this place we found the remainder of an old Fort, or Palizide, which as we conceiued had beene made by fome Chriftians,7J this was alfo hard by that place which we thought had beene a river, vnto which wee went and found it fo to be, deviding it felfe into two armes by an high banke,73 (landing right by the cut or

7" This was indicative of the fpirit 7* They feem to have now reached

of fairnefs with which the Pilgrims of the neighborhood of Hopkins's Cliff,

Plymouth always a£ted towards the which borders Pamet River on the

aboriginal owners of the foil. [See north. Doubtlefs the "old fort," and

difcufiion of the queftion, Did the the "remains of the houfe" feen a

. Pilgrims wrong the Indians t in little before, had one origin,

the Congregational Quarterly, i. 129- 73 Now called Old Tom's Hill, in

135.] Indian Neck.

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IN AMERICA

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mouth which came from the Sea,74 that which was next vnto vs was the lefle, the other arme was more then twife as big, and not vnlike to be an harbour for fhips; but whether it be a frefh river, or onely an indraught of the Sea, we had no time to difcover; for wee had Commandement to be out but two dayes. Here alfo we faw two Canoas,75 the one on the one fide, the other on the other fide,76 wee could not beleeue it was a Canoa, till we came neare it, fo we returned leauing the further difco

74 Bradford fays, " This was near y« place of that fuppofed river they came to feeck; unto which they wente and found it to open it felfe into 2. armes with a high clifle of (and in ye enterance, but more like to be crikes of falte water than any frefh, for ought they faw."—[Hift. Plym. Plant, 82.] Prince [Annals, 74] conjectures this to be what is now Barnftable harbor. But, afide from the fa£t that the refemblance of

Barnftable harbor to the defcription here given is of the vagueft poflible defcription, his conjecture is proven erroneous by the fa£t that the ground gone over by the party to reach Barnftable muft have been at leaft forty-five miles,—an incredible journey for the time, and under the circumftances; while the details agree at every point with Pamet River. The " leffe " arm, which was next to the party, is Hopkins's Creek, North Branch, or Pamet Little River; the " other arme " was Pamet River, or Pamet Creek, or Pamet harbor, which almoft cuts off the Cape here, termi

nating only within a few rods of the eaftern fhore.

75 There is nothing to indicate whether thefe were bark canoes or " dug-outs." Both were ufed by the natives.

76 It is difficult to fee exactly what is here intended. Dr. Young interprets the "one fide" and "other fide" to refer to the bank (i. e. Old Tonfs Hill), fo that he underftands them to have looked acrofs Hopkins's Creek, and feen the two canoes lying on its further fhore, but the one on the one fide of the "high banke," and the other on the other. This would not enable the party, however, to " come nearer" than the width of the creek to either. If the " one fide " and the " other fide," on the other hand, are taken as referring to the creek itfelf, one canoe becomes acceffible; though it might be urged that if the party came near enough to it to handle it, they might probably have (aid more about it, and might be tempted to try its power of ferrying.

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very hereof to our Shallop, and came that night backe againe to the frefh water pond,77 and there we made our Randevous that night, making a great fire, and a Baricado78 to windward of vs, and kept good watch with three Sentinells all night, euery one ftanding when his turne came, while fiue or fixe inches of Match was burning.79 It proved a very rainie night. In the morning to we tooke our Ketle and funke it in the pond, and trimmed our Muskets, for few of them would goe off becaufe of the wett, and fo coafted the wood8' againe to come home, in which we were (hrewdly puf-led, and loft our way, as we wandred we came to a tree, where a yong Spritt8* was bowed downe over a bow, and fome

77 See note 6i.

78 " So they made them a barricado (as ufually they did every night) with loggs, ftaks, & thike pine bowes, y« height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to fhelter them from ye could & wind (making their fire in ye midle & lying round aboute it), and partly to defend them from any fudden aflaults of ye favags, if they mould furround them."— [Bradford, Plytn. Plant., 84.]

79 Moft of their guns were matchlocks (though the Pilgrims then had at leaft one flint-lock in their poffeffion, as will appear farther on), which would be worthlefs in a fudden alarm unlefs the match were kept conftantly ignited.

«o Friday, l* Nov.

81 The foreft feems to have grown

down to the pond on the north, and thence flretched acrofs toward the ocean; fo that they "(kitted it" in their endeavor to go around the head of Eaft-Harbor Creek; but, getting

confufed in the denfe growth, and fo loft, they went too far E.

8» A fprout, i. e. a young fapling. Thomas Morton fays, " The Salvages take thefe [deer] in trappes made of their naturall Hempe, which they place in the earth; where they fell a tree for browfe, and when he rounds the tree for the browfe, if hee tread on the trapp, he is horfed up by the legg, by meanes of a pole that ftarts up and catcheth him."—[New-Ettg. Canaan, in Force's Trails, Vol. 11., v. 52.] The boys in the Old Colony catch the fmall game of the woods, to this day, by fimilar traps.

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Acornes ftrewed vn- [8] der-neath; Stephen Hopkins fayd, it had beene to catch fome Deere, fo, as we were looking at it, William Bradford being in the Rearey when he came looked alfo vpon it, and as he went about, it gaue a fodaine jerk vp, and he was immediately caught by the leg; It was a very pretie devife, made with a Rope of their owne making, and having a noofe as artificially made, as any Roper83 in England can make, and as like ours as can be, which we brought away with vs. In the end wee got out of the Wood, and were fallen about a myle too high aboue the creake,84 where we faw three Bucks, but we had rather haue had one of them,85 Wee alfo did fpring three couple of Partridges; and as we came along by the creake, wee faw great flockes of wild Geefe and Duckes, but they were very fearefull of vs.

So we marched fome while in the Woods, fome while on the fands, and other while in the water vp to the knees,86

83 A ropemaker. —\Johnfon^\

84 This would indicate that they came out upon the eaftern more, fcarcely three-fourths of a mile N.W. of the prefent fite of the Highland Light.

85 There is a quaint touch of humor here which indicates that the Pilgrim vifage, though grim, knew how to fmile.

86 Dr. Young fuggefts that they went down the weft fide of Eaft- Harbor Creek, and forded its mouth; but I fee nothing in their narrative to indicate that they did fo. The (aft that

they marched fome while "in the water up to the knees " does not prove it, becaufe they would be very likely to do that in marching around the marines that Ikirted Stout's Creek, if they returned the fame way they went; while the fa£t that they had juft been loft in the woods, when they reached the head of Eaft-Harbor, Creek, would have been likely to have urged them to go back upon their tracks, after they had found them. It is, farther, in itfelf, greatly improbable that they would go that way; (a) the difficulties of eroding Moon

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till at length we came neare the Ship,87 and then we fhot off our Peeces, and the long Boat came to fetch vs;

from the wafhing-beach, where they appear to have difembarked for this journey. They muft have been too much fatigued — laden as they were with their armor and weapons and their corn — to do this needleffly. Moreover, it is Hated that Jones, Carver, and a number of the company were on fhore when they arrived ; but they would have been more likely to have been on the main more than on Long Point It is obvious that, although the Mayflower lay at anchor not over a furlong's length from the inner more of Long Point (as feems to be fixed by the remark made when the fhallop ftarted on its voyage to Plymouth), yet the going afhore was moftly done in the direction of Provincetown; inafmuch as it is repeatedly faid that they were compelled to wade a bow-fhot or two; that they could not, at low-water, get within three-fourths of a mile of the fhore, &c, &c. I judge, then, that the party " fhot off" their " peeces " when they came down againft the fhip,—perhaps in the prefent neighborhood of Central Wharf, — and that their friends, who were fcattered, on their occafions, about the neighborhood, then came to greet them, and the longboat foon took all on board.

I am not able, I may add here, to underftand Dr. Young's ftatement, that the fhip lay two miles from Provincetown. If fhe were a furlong infide of Long Point, fhe could

pond Run—which is fituated in the inner angle where Beach Point joins the main body of the Cape—are great when the tide is out, and infurmountable when it is in; (b) if they had intended to go back by way of Beach Point, — as the curve-line of the fhore, from where they were ftanding when they

were on the hill near the Pond Village, muft have been vifible, fo that they could fee that there were no obftructions in their courfe that way, — one would think it much more natural that they fhould have followed the hypothenufe — the bay fhore — back thither, than to have ftruggled through the brufhwood, thorns, and mud of the two fides of the triangle, round by Eaft-harbor meadow, High Head, and Moon Pond, to reach the fame point; (c) it is by no means certain that the mouth of Eaft- Harbor Creek was fordable two hundred and forty-five years ago. It feems moft probable, then, that they went back by efTentially the fame way that they had come.

*7 Here alfo it feems to me that both Dr. Young and Dr. Freeman [i Ma/s. Hift. Coll., viii. 212] have wrongly inferred that the party waded acrofs Mill Creek and went round to the end of Long Point before hailing the fhip. This — if the configuration of Mill Creek were at all then as now —would have added at leaft four miles of tedious travel to what would be needful, if they returned on board

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mafler /ones, and mafler Caruer being on the fhore, with many of our people, came to meete vs. And thus wee came both weary and well-come home, and deliuered in our Corne into the ftore, to be kept for feed, for wee knew not how to come by any, and therefore were very glad, purpofing fo foone as we could meete with any of the Inhabitants of that place, to make them large fatisfadlion. This was our firft Difcovery, whilft our Shallop was in repairing; our people did make things as fitting as they could, and time would, in

feeking out wood, and heluing of Tooles, and fawing of Tymber to build a new Shallop, but the difcommodioufnes of the harbour did much hinder vs, for we could neither goe to, nor come from the fhore, but at high water, which was much to our hinderance and hurt, for oftentimes they waded to the midle of the thigh, and oft to the knees, te goe and come from land; fome did it neceffarily, and fome for their owne pleafure, but it brought to the mod, if not to all, coughes and colds, the weather prouing fodainly cold and ftormie, which afterward turned to the fcurvey, whereof many dyed. [9]

When our Shallop was fit indeed, before (he was fully fitted, for there was two dayes worke after bellowed on her, there was appointed fome 24. men of our owne,

fcarcely have been ten furlongs off to have been (see note 35), (he could Provincetown, as the fhore now is ; hardly have been more than feven or

while, as the more then would feem eight

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and armed, then to goe and make a more full difcovery of the rivers before mentioned.88 Mafter lanes was defirous to goe with vs, and tooke fuch of his faylers as he thought vfefull for vs, fo as we were in all about 34. men; wee made mafter /ones our Leader, for we thought it beft herein to gratifie his kindnes and forwardnes.89 When we were fet

forth, it proued rough weather and croffe windes, fo as we were conftrained, fome in the Shallop, and others in the long Boate, to row to the neereft fhore the wind would fuffer them to goe vnto, and then to wade out aboue the knees; ** the wind was fo ftrong as the Shallop could not keepe the water, but was forced to harbour there that night,91 but we marched fixe or feaven miles further,93 and appointed the Shallop to come to vs as foone as they could. It blowed and did fnow all that day & night, and frofe withall: fome of our people that are dead tooke the originall of their death here. The next day93 about 11. a clocke our Shallop came to vs, and wee

m That is, Pamet River and its three branches. See note 74.

89 This proves nothing either way in regard to the charge which Secretary Morton makes [N. E. Afem., 12.] of treachery againft Jones in landing the company fo far north ; becaufe, if that were true,- it was not known to any of the company for years afterward, and of courfe could not now impair their feelings of confidence in, or kindnefs towards, him.

90 Probably Beach Point.

91 The fhallop appears to have gone in round Beach Point into Eaft-Harbor Creek.

9* How far would feem to them, under their circumftances, to have been fix or feven miles muft be matter of conjecture. They probably did not get farther from Beach Point than Great Hollow, where they might conveniently take the fhallop next day; which would be about five miles.

93 Tuesday, |8D^

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fhipped our felues, and the wind being good, we fayled to the river we formerly difcovered,94 which we named, Cold Harbour^ to which when wee came we found it not Navigable for Ships, yet we thought it might be a good harbour for Boats, for it flowes there 12. fdote at high water. We landed our men betweene the two creekes,95 and marched fome foure or fiue myles by the greater of them,96 and the Shallop followed vs; at length night grew on, and our men were tired with marching vp and downe the fteepe hills, and deepe vallies, which lay halfe a foot thicke with fnow • Mafter lanes wearied with marching, was defirous we fliould take vp our lodging, though fome of vs would haue marched further, fo we made there our Randevous for that night, vnder a few Pine trees, and as it fell out, wee got three fat Geefe, and fix Ducks97 to our Supper, which we eate with Souldiers ftomacks, for we

94 Pamet River. See note 74.

95 That is, at Old Tom's Hill, on Indian Neck.

96 The width of the Cape from the mouth of Pamet River acrofs to the Atlantic fide is now fcarcely three and a half miles, and, following all the windings of that crooked channel, it would be hard to double that di(lance; fo that, in this eftimate alfo, we mud make fome allowance for the influence of circumftances upon miles.

97 " There are Gene of three forts vize, brant Gecfe, which are pide, and white Geefe which are bigger, and gray Geefe which are as bigg and

bigger then the tame Geefe of England, with black legges, black bills, heads, and necks black; the flefh farre more excellent, then the Geefe of England, wild or tame, yet the purity of the aire is fuch, that the biggefl is accompted but an indifferent meale for a couple of men. There is of them great abundance. I have had often 1000. before the mouth of my gunne, I never faw any in Enggland for my part fo fatt . . . Ducks, there are of three kindes, pide Ducks, gray Ducks, and black Ducks in greate abundance."—[New-Eng. Canaan, Force, 11., v. 46.]

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had eaten little all that day; our refolution was next morning to goe vp to the head of this river, for we fuppofed it would proue frefh water,98 but in [10] the morning99 our refolution held not, becaufe many liked not the hillineffe of the foyle, and badnefle of the harbour, fo we turned towards the other creeke,100 that wee might goe over and looke for the reft of the Corne that we left behind when we were here before; when we came to the creeke, we faw the Canow ^ lie on the dry ground, and a flocke of Geefe in the river, at which one made a (hot, and killed a couple of them, and we lanched the Canow & fetcht them, and when we had done, fhe carryed vs over by feaven or eight at once. This done, we marched to the place where we had the corne formerly, which place we called Corne-kill; and digged and found the reft, of which we were very glad: we alfo digged in a place a little further off, and found a Botle of oyle;,M wee went to another place, which we had feene before, and digged, and found more corne, viz. two or three Baskets full of Indian Wheat,103 and a bag of Beanes, with a good many of faire

9* They muft have been then with- »©* Another relic of the (hipwrecked

in a mile of the Atlantic fide. The failors ? See note 69.

prefent ifthmus between the head of ">a Corn was a general term for

Pamet River and the beach on the thofe farinaceous grains which grow

eaftern fide of the Cape can scarcely in ears, including wheat, barley, oats,

be more than forty rods in width. maize, &c. By " Indian wheat" they

99 Wednefday> ?i£v* meant maize or " Indian corn." Hig

100 That is, over toward the north ginfon fays, "It is almoft incredible branch and Cornhill. what great gaine fome of our Eng

*°« See note 75. lifh Planters have had by our Indian

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Wheat-eares;,<H whilft fome of vs were digging vp this, fome others found another heape of Corne, which they digged vp alfo, fo as we had in all about ten Bufhels, which

will feme vs fufficiently for feed* And fure it was Gods good providence that we found this Corne, for els wee know not how we (hould haue done, for we knew not how we fliould find, or meete with any of the Indiansy except it be to doe vs a mifchiefe. Alfo we had neuer in all likelihood feene a graine of it, if we had not made our firft Iourney;,os for the ground was now covered with fnow, and fo hard frofen, that we were faine with our Curtlaxes,o6 and fhort Swords, to hew and carue the ground a foot deepe, and then wreft it vp with leavers, for we had forgot to bring other Tooles; whilft we were in this imployment, foule weather being towards,107

Corne. Credible perfons have aflured me, and the partie himfelfe auouched the truth of it to me, that of the fetting of 13 Gallons of Corne he hath had encreafe of it 52 Hogfheads, euerie Hogfhead holding feuen Bufhels of London meafure, and euerie Bufhell was by him fold and trufted to the Indians for fo much Beauer as was worth 18 millings; and fo of this 13 Gallons of Corne which was worth 6 (hillings 8 pence, he made about 327 pounds of it the yeere following, as by reckononing will appeare. . . . There is not fuch great and beautifull eares of Corne I fuppofe any where elfe to be found but in this Countrey: being alfo of a variety of colours, as red, blew,

and yellow, &c." — \New-England*s Plantation, Force, 1., xii. 6.]

«°4 Thefe " Wheat-eares " were ears of corn. Beans were a part of the yearly crop of the Indians, when the country was difcovered. The wild Phafeolus trilobus was ufed by the Indian doctors as a cooling fedative antibilious tonic. The Phafeolus vulgaris was, moil likely, the kind raifed by the Indians. — [Dewey's Herb. Plants ofAfq/s., 63.]

«©s See p. 21.

106 " Curtlafs (q. d. curtled or curt axe) a fhort fword, a kind of hanger." — [Bailey.]

107 " Towards (adverb), near at hand; advancing."— [IVorce/ier.]

Note.

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Mafter lones was earneft to goe abourd, but fundry of vs defired to make further difcovery, and to find out the Indians habitations, fo we fent home with him our weakeft people, and fome that were ficke,'08 and all the Corne, and 18. of vs flayed ftill, and lodged there109 that night, and defired that the Shallop might returne to vs next day, and bring vs fome Mattocks and Spades with them, [i i] The next morning"0 we followed certaine beaten pathes and tra<5ls of the Indians into the Woods, fuppofing they would haue led vs into fome Towne, or houfes; after wee had gone a while, we light vpon a very broad beaten path, well nigh two foote broad, then we lighted all our Matches,1" and prepared our felues, concluding wee were neare their dwellings, but in the end we found it to be onely a path made to driue Deere in, when the Indians hunt, as wee fuppofed;,,J when we had marched fiue or fix myles into the Woods,"3 and could find no fignes of any people, we returned againe another way, and as we came into the plaine ground,"4 wee found a place like a graue, but it was much bigger and longer then any

>°> Sixteen went back, as there were were mi (laken in their conjecture, and

thirty-four in the company. he in his comment.

««9 In the neighborhood of Corn- «3 The direction of their march,

hill. mod likely, was over toward the At

i «o Thurfday, £ gjj lantic fide, fomewhere between Small's

i>> See note 79. Hill and Highland Light.

>" This defcription accords very »»4 That is, came back to the cleared

imperfectly with that of a deer-path land fouth of the Pond, where they

which Dr. Young quotes from Wood, had found graves in their firft expe

It is quite poflible that the Pilgrims dition.

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we had yet feene. It was alfo covered with boords, fo as we mufed what it fliould be, and refolved to digge it vp, where we found, firft a Matt, and vnder that a fayre Bow, and there another Matt, and vnder that a boord about three quarters"3 long, finely carued and paynted, with three tynes, or broches"6 on the top, like a Crowne; alfo betweene the Matts we found Boules, Trayes, Dilhes, and fuch like Trinkets; at length we came to a faire new Matt, and vnder that two Bundles, the one bigger, the other leffe, we opened the

greater and found in it a great quantitie of fine and perfedl red Powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The skull had fine yellow haire ftill on it, and fome of the flefli vnconfumed; there was bound vp with it a knife, a pack-needle,"7 and I'.vo or three old iron things. It was bound vp in a Saylers canvas Cafacke,"8 and a payre of cloth breeches; the red Powder was a kind of Embaulment, and yeelded a ftrong, but no offensiue fmell; It was as fine as any flower. We opened the leffe bundle likewife, and found of the fame Powder in it, and the bones and head of a little childe, about the leggs, and other parts of it was bound firings, and bracelets of fine white Beads;"9 there was alfo by it

"5 A quarter of a yard was famil- carved on the board ; connecting

iarly fpoken of, in lineal meafure, as a nautical aflbciations with the grave,

"quarter." »7 A large, coarfe needle for few

n6 « Tine, the Grain [prong] of a ing pack-cloth with pack-thread, in

Fork." " Broach, a fpit for roafting doing up packages of goods,

meat on." — [Bailey.'] The idea is «8 A coarfe frock, or bloufe.

that fomething like a trident was "9 Wampum. 5

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a little Bow, about three quarters long, and fome other odd knackes; we brought fundry of the pretieft things away with vs, and covered the Corps vp againe. After this, we digged in fundry like places, but found no more Corne, nor any things els but [12] graues: There was varietie of opinions amongft vs about the embalmed perfon; fome thought it was an Indian Lord and King: others fayd, the Indians haue all blacke hayre, and never any was feene with browne or yellow hayre; fome thought, it was a Chriftian of fome fpeciall note, which had dyed amongft them, and they thus buried him to honour him; others thought, they had killed him, and did it in triumph over him.,JO Whileft we were thus ranging and fearching, two of the Saylers, which were newly come on the fhore,"' by chance efpied two houfes, which had beene lately dwelt in, but the people were gone. They having their peeces,

no From the mention of the trident carved and painted on the board found in the grave, and that of the knife, pack-needle, caflbck, and breeches, and the yellow hair found on the (kull, it is made probable that this was the grave of one of the ftiipwrecked failors already referred to, or of fome one of earlier coming. (See note 69.) What the embalming powder—as they conceived it to be—was, I can form no conjecture. Nor is it eafy to explain the child's bones, and the Indian relics buried in the fame grave. Although Bradford's reference to thefe

failors [Hifi. Plym. Plant, 98] mows that they were faid to have been treated "worfe than (lavesn by the Indians, it is poflible that fome one of them may have pleafed his captors, and been adopted into their tribe ; may have married, and

been buried by them with honor, and with his child in the fame grave. Or, poflibly, it may have been a North-men relic.

>" The fliallop had returned for the eighteen members of the party who had remained — as by requeft of the previous night; and fome of her failors were now fearching for them.

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and hearing no body entred the houfes, and tooke out fome things, and durft not flay but came againe and told vs; fo fome feaven or eight of vs went with them, and found how we had gone within a flight fliot of them before. The houfes were made with long yohg Sapling trees, bended and both ends ftucke into the ground;,M they were made round, like vnto an Arbour, and covered downe to the ground with thicke and well wrought matts, and the doore was not over a yard high, made of a matt to open; "3 the chimney was a wide open hole in the top, for which they had a matt to cover it clofe when they pleafed; one might ftand and goe vpright in them, in the midft of them were foure little trunches,24 knockt into the ground, and fmall ftickes laid over, on which they hung their Pots, and what they had to feeth; round about the fire they lay on matts, which are their beds. The houfes were double matted, for as they were matted without, fo were they within, with newer & fairer matts."5 In the houfes we found wooden Boules, Trayes & Diflies, Earthen Pots, Hand baskets made of Crab l

«» "Their Houfes are verie. little Hi/L Coll., i. 47-51; Force, 11., v. 19, «»£k . «3, 7*4. fc, and homely, being made with fmall 20; 1 Mafs.Hift.ColL,\,n^\ SchoolPoles pricked into the ground, and craft's Indian Tribes, &*c, ii. 63, &c] fo bended

and faftned at the tops, »*3 "Their doore is a hanging Mat, ' and on the fides they are matted with which being lift up, falls downe of Boughes, and couered on the Roofe itfelfe."—[Roger Williams,/?.-/. .//£?. with Sedge and old Mats."—[New-Coll., i. 51.]

England's Plantation, Force, 1. xii. 13. "4 " Trunch, a (lake, a fmall poft."

See alfo, for further particulars in re- —{Webfter.}

gard to the Indian wigwams, /?.-/. «s " They line them with embroyd

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[*3

fliells, wrought together;'36 alfo an Englifh Paile or Bucket, it wanted a bayle, but it had two Iron eares: there was alfo Baskets of fundry forts, bigger and fome leffer, finer and fome courier: fome were curioufly wrought with blacke and white in pretie workes,"7 and fundry other of their houfhold ftuffe: we found alfo two or three Deeres heads, one whereof had bin newly killed, for it was ftill frefh; there was alfo a company of [13] Deeres feete, ftuck vp in the houfes, Harts homes,"8 and Eagles clawes,"9 and fundry fuch like things there was: alfo two or three Baskets full of parched Acornes,

peeces of fifh, and a peece of a broyled Hering. We found alfo a little filke graffe,'30 and a little Tobacco feed,13' with

ered mats which the women make, and call them Mannotaubana, or Hangings, which amongft them make as faire a (how as Hangings with us." —[Roger Williams, /?.-/. HiJL Coll.,

i. 470

«6 Gookin mentions various materials for Indian bafkets: "Some are made of ruflies ; fome of bents [bentgrafs]; others, of maize hulks; others, of a kind of filk grafs; others, of a kind of wild hemp; and fome, of barks of trees." —[1 Mafs. Hijl. Coll., i. 151.] Thefe, of crab-fhells, muft have been fattened, one would think, by finews; and muft have been the refult of " fancy work."

"7 " Many of them very neat and artificial, with the portraitures of birds, beads, fifties and flowers, upon them in colours."—[Gookin, as above.]

«8 Thefe muft have been deer's horns. The fallow-deer (Cervus Firginianus) is the only fpecies of its genus catalogued as native to Maflachufetts." — [Emmons's Quadrupeds of Mafs., 81.]

**9 The Falco leiicocephalus, or poffibly that named, by Audubon, the Falco Wafhingtonianus; unlefs the party miftook the talons of the huge fifh-hawk (Falco haliatus) for thofe of an eagle.

130 Poflibly the Stipa avenacea, or fome kindred feathery grafs; but moft probably the dried long feed-down of the Afclefias cornuti, commonly known as milkweed, or fi lk weed.

»3« Probably thofe of the Nicotiana ruftica, with greenifh yellow flowers, and not the N. tabacum, the flowers of which are rofe-colored. The for

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fome other feeds which wee knew not; without was fundry bundles of Flags, and Sedge, Bull-rufhes, and other ftuffe to make matts;,3a there was thruft into an hollow tree, two or three peeces of Venifon, but we thought it fitter for the Dogs then for vs: fome of the beft things we tooke away with vs, and left the houfes (landing ftill as they were, fo it growing towards night, and the tyde almoft fpent, we hafted with our things downe to the Shallop, and got abourd that night,'33 intending to haue brought fome Beades, and other things to haue left in the houfes, in figne of Peace, and that we meant to truk with them, but it was not done, by meanes of our haftie comming away from Cape Cod,134 but fo foone as we can

mer is confidered inferior to the latter, and now grows wild in old fields in fome parts of the north, a relic of cultivation by the Indians. Roger Williams fays, "They take their Wuttamauog (that is, a weake Tobacco) which the men plant themfelves, very frequently; yet I never fee any take fo exceflively, as I have feene Men in Europe. . . . They fay they take Tobacco for two cavfes ; firft againft the rheume which cavfeth the toothake, which they are impatient of: fecondly

to revive and refrefh them, they drinking nothing but water." — [*.-/. Hift. Coll., i. 35, 55]

»3* The flags, mod likely, were the Acorns calamus and Iris vcrftcolor; the fedge, the larger varieties of the Carex family; and the bulrufhes, the Typha I atifolia.

>33 Prince fays [New-Eng. C/tron.f i. 7Si " They get aboard at night; and the next Day, Dec. I. Return to the Ship;" and cites this " Relation" in proof. But I fubmit that, although it was "growing towards night" when they darted for the fhallop, it is yet more reafonable to fuppofe, as they had fcarcely more than five miles to go, that they reached the Mayflower that evening, than that they fpent the night in the cold in the fhallop, almoft, or quite, within fight of the top of her mails. I interpret, then, the expreflion "got abourd that night" as referring to the Mayflower. And this explains the abfence of all reference to a return on the next day.

134 The meaning is, that they intended, after reaching the (hip, to make another expedition to thefe

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meete conveniently with them, we will giue them full fatisfaftion.'35 Thus much of our fecond Difcovery.

Having thus difcovered this place, it was controverfall amongft vs, what to doe touching our aboad and fetling there; fome thought it beft for many reafons to abide there."6

As firft, that there was a convenient harbour for Boates, though not for Ships.

Secondly, Good Corne ground readie to our hands, as we faw by experience in the goodly corne it yeelded, which would againe agree with the ground, and be naturall feed for the fame.

Thirdly, Cape Cod was like to be a place of good fifhing, for we faw daily great Whales of the beft kind for oyle and bone, come clofe aboord our Ship, and in fayre weather fwim and play about vs;,37 there was once one when the Sun (hone warme, came and lay aboue water, as if fhe had beene dead, for a good while together, within halfe a Musket fhot of the Ship, at which two were prepared to fhoote, to fee whether (he would ftir or no, he that gaue fire firft, his Musket flew in peeces, both ftocke and barrell, yet thankes be to [14] God, neither he nor

wigwams with beads, &c; but were ward they did, to their good contente."

prevented by darting fo foon for Plym- —[Bradford, Hift. Plytn. Plant, 83.]

outh, and by the fudden removal of »36 That is, on the cleared land

the Mayflower thither after they had around Cornhill, and bordering Pamet

decided to fettle there. River.

'35 "As about fome 6. months after- «J7 See note 13.

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any man els was hurt with it, though many were there about, but when the Whale faw her time (he gaue a fnuffe and away.

Fourthly, the place was likely to be healthfull, fecure, and defenfible.

But the laft and efpeciall reafon was, that now the heart of Winter and vnfeafonable weather was come vpon vs, fo that we could not goe vpon coafting and difcovery, without danger of looting men and Boat, vpon which would follow the overthrow of all, efpecially confidering what variable windes and fodaine ftorms doe there arife. Alfo cold and wett lodging had fo taynted our people, for fcarce any of vs were free from vehement coughs, as if l they fliould continue long in that eftate, it would indanger the Hues of many, and breed difeafes and infection amongft vs. Againe, we had yet fome Beere, Butter, Flefh, and other fuch victuals left, which would quickly be all gone, and then we fhould haue nothing to comfort vs in the great labour and toyle we were like to vnder-goe at the firft; It was alfo conceived, whilft we had competent victuals, that the Ship would ftay with vs, but when that grew low, they would be gone, and let vs fhift as we could.138

Others againe, vrged greatly the going to Anguum or Angoum™ a place twentie leagues off to the North

«3« This is another proof that the »39 I take it that all their imprefPilgrims felt that they had reafon to fions of this place —except as they diftruft Capt Jones and his company, might have been gathered from the

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wards, which they had heard to be an excellent harbour for (hips; better ground and better fifhing. Secondly, for any thing we knew, there might be hard by vs a farre better feate, and it fhould be a great hindrance to feate where wee fhould remoue againe.,4° Thirdly, The water was but in ponds, and it was thought there would be none in Summer, or very little. Fourthly, the water

floating rumors of the fea—they had derived from Captain John Smith's Defcription of New England, with a rude map, which had been publifhed at London in 1616, and was fubfequently incorporated with his Generall Hijlorie, published there in 1624. Defcribing the Maflachufetts more as it revealed itfelf to one coafting fouthward, he fays, "Augoan is the next: this place might content a right curious iudgement, but there are many fands at the entrance of the Harbour, and the word is, it is imbayed too farre from the deepe Sea; here are many rifing hills, and on their tops and defcents are many come fields and delightful groues: On the Eaft is an He of two or three leagues in length, the one halfe plaine marifh ground, fit for pafture or fait Ponds, with many faire high groues of Mulbery trees and Gardens ; there is alfo Okes, Pines, Walnuts, and other wood to make this place an excellent habitation, being a good and fafe Harbour." — [Genera// Hiftorie, 214.] The map indicates — were there any doubt—that the place which Smith had in mind was Agawam, now known

as Ipfwich, the entrance to whofe harbor (the goodnefs of which they would have found to be greatly exaggerated) opens directly at the fouthern extremity of Plum Ifland; and upon Smith's map, by his fcale of leagues, is put down at as nearly "twentie leagues off to the Northwards " from the Mayflower as fhe lay at anchor, as can be meafured ; which indeed is not far from the true diftance.

The name (Auguam, Augoam, Anguum, Angoum, Angawoam, Agowamin, Agaivom, Agawam, Agawammey &c.) is impregnated with the general fenfe of the word agwe, below; and was fometimes applied to a place abfolutely low, — as to flat meadows where there was no comparative reference to high lands adjacent ; fometimes to a place relatively low, in contraft with near elevations ; and fometimes to a place below another, as being nearer the mouth of the river on which both were fituated.

"40 That is, where they fhould be difiatisfied, and whence they fhould be therefore compelled to remove again.

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there,4' mud be fetched vp a fteepe hill: but to omit many reafons and replies vfed heere abouts; It was in the ende concluded, to make fome difcovery within the Bay, but in no cafe fo farre as Angoum: befides, Robert Coppin our Pilot,'4* made relation of a great Navigable River,43 and good harbour in the other head-land of this Bay,144 almoft right over againft Cape Cod, being a right [15] line, not much aboue eight leagues diftant,'45 in which hee had beene once: and becaufe that one of the

m« At Cornhill, or on old Tom's Hill. See note 73.

m* Robert Coppin was one of the matter's mates of the Mayflower, and a pilot. He was pilot of the Plymouth expedition; but he is alfo called "our pilot" in this place, in a way to intimate that he was a pilot of the Mayflower, as well. The word feems to have been then ufed in a larger fenfe than now — as intending not a mere local and temporary channel-guide, but a permanent officer of the (hip; and, for adventurers to a comparatively unknown land, a perfon who had made the pilgrimage himfelf, and fo could hold out the hope of benefit from his experience. Capt. John Smith puts down a pilot among the needful functionaries of a (hip, in his "Sea Grammer" (1627); and had one himfelf (Thomas Digby) in his attempt to reach New-England in 1615.

It is my impreffion that Coppin was originally hired to go in the Speedwell ; that he was the " pilot" whofe "coming" was a "great incourage6

ment" to the Leyden expectants in the laft of May or firft of June, 1620; that he (ailed with them in the Speedwell, but, on her final putting back, was transferred to the Mayflower, where Clarke (fee note 159) already was ;—Robert Cufliman having written to Leyden \\ June, "We have another pilote here, one Mr Clarke, who went laft year to Virginia with a (hip of kine."—[3 Mafs. Hift. Coll., vi. 1345 Bradford, Pfym. Plant, 49,

55-1

143 It is difficult to guefs what fuggefted the idea of this " great navigable river;" and, from what is faid, fubfequendy, it is doubtful if Coppin had ever been in Plymouth harbor.

»44 The hights of Manomet, lying directly fouth of the entrance to Plymouth harbor.

«4$ It would be a little lefs than 25 miles in an air line — one point fouth of due weft — from the anchorage of the Mayflower in Provincetown harbor, to her anchorage in Plymouth harbor.

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wild men with whom they had fome trucking, ftole a harping Iron'*6 from them, they called it theeuifh harbour. And beyond that place they were enioyned not to goe, whereupon, a Company was chofen to goe out vppon a third difcovery: whileft fome were imployed in this difcovery,1*7 it pleafed God that Miftris White was brought a bed of a Sonne, which was called Peregrine.1*

The fift day, we through Gods mercy efcaped a great danger by the foolifhnes of a Boy, one of Francis Bit

%

«4* " Harping-irons% a fort of Darts or Spears (aliened to Lines, wherewith they ftrike and catch Whales and other large Fifh." — [Bailey.']

»47 The fenfe here, beyond doubt, ' requires that the colon after " a third difcovery" ihould be a period, and the words "whileft fome" begin a new paragraph; fo as to enable what follows to revert naturally back to the time taken by this fecond expedition to Cornhill, juft clofed, and not to that

occupied by the "third difcovery" (of Plymouth), as it feems to do under the exifting punctuation. The meaning is, that while this party were abfent—between Monday, 'jS™, and Thur/day, **£•,— this little ftran" ger had been added to their company.

»48 Peregrine White—the firft child of New England, fo far as the Engirt** It*** &k* 1-a/-/%y}li(h colonifts were concerned — was Jyoungeft child of William, "woolcarder from England," and Sufanna (Fuller); who had been married t\ Feb., 16", in Leyden, and who embarked, with their fon Refolved and

two men-fervants, in the Mayflower (fee note 27); was born (as above) between *J g£ and g g£ ; was brought up by Edward Window, who married his mother Sufanna, \\ May, 1621 (his father having died J'J^ i6~); went to Marftifield with Gov. Winflow's family, after 1632; 1642, was enfign of Standi fli's militia (lieutenant fome years later, and captain 1673); 1648, married Sarah Baflett; fettled on an eftate given him by his fatherin-law, William Baflett, between North and South rivers, in Marfhfield; 1660 and 1673, was reprefcntative to the General Court, and, 1673, was of the Council of War; had fix children, — Sarah, Daniel, Jonathan, Peregrine, Silvanus, and Mercy; died "of a fever" JJ July, 1704, aged nearly 84, " vigorous and of a comely afpeft to the laft." His homeftead is now owned by John A. White, — a defcendant of the fixth generation, — and is fituated a half mile eaft of Telegraph Hill, in the northern angle made by South River with the fhore,

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lingtonsIO Sonnes, who in his Fathers abfence, had got Gun-powder, and had fhot off a peice or two, and made fquibs, and there being a fowling peice charged in his fathers Cabbin, fhot her off in the Cabbin, there being a little barrell of powder halfe full, fcattered in and about the Cabbin, the fire being within foure foote of the bed betweene the Deckes, and many flints and Iron things about the Cabbin, and many people about the fire, and yet by Gods mercy no harme done.

Wednefday, the fixt of December,'50 it was refolved our difcoverers fhould fet forth, for the day before was too fowle weather, and fo they did, though it was well ore the day ere all things could be readie: So ten of our men were appointed who were of themfelues willing to vndertake it, to wit, Captaine StandiJJiy Maifter Carver?*

and two and a half miles due N. of the late refidence of Hon. Daniel Webfter. —[Savage's Gen. Die!., iv. 513-515 ; Thomas's Memorials of MarfJifield, 33, 34.]

149 " One of Francis Billington's Sonnes" fhould evidently be " Francis, one of John Billington's fons." By reference to the lift of paflengers (note 27), it will be feen that the father's name was John, and that he had fons John and Francis, the latter of whom is doubtlefs here referred to. The father was not a fit member of the company (having joined them fomewhere in England), and was hanged in 1630 for the murder of John Newcomen. Francis married,

1634, Chriftian, widow of Francis Eaton ; removed to Yarmouth before 1648, and had eight children. — [Savage, Gen. Dicl., i. 179.]

150 Wednefday, f6 Dec.

»s» John Carver firft appears at Leyden, J* May, 1616, as witnefs at the marriage of Hendrik Wilfon (although his wife had been a witnefs at the marriage of Roger Chandler there, J jJJ,*7* of the previous year); ' Dec, 1616, he was witnefs at the marriage of John Spooner; ^aiSm 1617, he was witnefs at the marriage of John Jennings; in the autumn of the fame year he was fent as one of the two agents to England to endeavor to fecure permiflion to found a colony;

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William Bradford, Edward Winjloe,"2 John Tilley,™ Edward Tilley, John Houland™ and three of London, Richard Warren™ Steeuen Hopkins, and Edward

went again on the fame bufinefs in December following, when he was ftyled " Deacon"; 1620, went to Southampton to make arrangements for the voyage of the Mayflower hither; there received a parting letter from John Robinfon, of date 27 July; was chofen governor when one was chofen for that year (fee note 28), and re-elected in March following; died foon after ,5S April, 1621, when he was fuddenly taken ill in the field. His wife's name was Catherine, and they left (probably had) no children.—[Bradford, Plym. Plant, 30-32, 59, 100, 447; N. E. Hijl. and Gen. Reg., iv. 105-109; Leyden Affs. Rec]

»5* Edward Win/low was born at Droitwich, Eng., l2\ Oft., 1594; fell into the Leyden Company on a tour in Holland about 1617; £ May, 1618, married there Elizabeth Darker of Chatfum (?); probably acted as a printer with Brewfter there; was one of four figners of a letter of date ^ June, 1620, to Carver and Cufhman; \\ May, 1621, married Sufanna, widow of William White, and mother of Peregrine ; was varioufly very ufeful in the colony, and governor, 1633; was fent to England many times; was one of Cromwell's commiffioners controlling the naval expedition to Hifpaniola, and died '8 May, 1654, and was buried at fea. He had Edward and John, who died young; 1629, Jonas (gover

nor of Plymouth Colony, 1673-1680); and Elizabeth. He lived at Carefwell, near the eftate of the late Hon. Daniel Webfter, in Marfhfield.—[N. E. Hijl. and Gen. Reg., xvii. 159; Leyden Affs. Rec]

«53 John Tilley (fee note 41). I find on the Leyden Affs. Records this, " H Feb., 1615, John TVlley, filk worker of Leyden, married Bridget Van der Velde "; which may be the hint of this man's occupation and affiliation. Bradford does not give his wife's Chriftian name.

«54 John How I and came over as one of John Carver's men-fervants, and had the narrowefl efcape from drowning on the paflage ; married Elizabeth Tilley (fee note 41) probably in 1621; 1633-5, 'was Affiftant; often a Reprefentative ; 1634, was in command of the Plymouth interefl on the Kennebec, when Hocking was killed; died «£*■, 167J. He had ten children. — [Savage's Gen. Dicl., ii. 479; N. E. Hijl. and Gen. Reg., ix. 80.]

"5$ Richard Warren came in the Mayflower; his wife Elizabeth and five daughters followed him in 1623, two fons, Nathaniel and Jofeph, having come earlier. He was " an

ufeful Inftrument, and during his life bare a deep (hare in the Difficulties and Troubles of the firft Settlement of the Plantation," and died in 1628.—

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IN AMERICA

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Dotted and two of our Sea-men, John Alderton,S7 and Thomas Englijh, ,s8 of the Ships Company there went two of the Mailers Mates, Mafter Clarke,59 and Mafter Copin, the Mafter Gunner, and three Saylers. The narration of which Difcovery, followes, penned by one of the Company.160

Wednefday the fixt of December wee fet out, being very cold and hard weather, wee were a long while after we launched from the fhip, before we could get cleare of a fandie poynt, which lay within leffe then a furlong of the fame.161 In which time, two were very ficke, and Edward

[Savage's Gen. DUl., iv. 427; Morton's Memorial, 68.]

•56 Edward Doten came as a fervant of Stephen Hopkins; l2\ June, 1621, was party to the firft duel fought in New England ; f6 Jan., 1635, mar* ried, for fecond wife, Faith, daughter of Triftram Clark; 1652, was one of the purchafers of Dartmouth, but removed to Yarmouth, and died, \3^^'i 1655. Bradford lays he had feven children by his fecond wife living in 1650; but his will mentions only wife and one fon. — [Savage's Gen. Difl., ii. 61; Bradford, Plym. Plant., 455.]

"57 John Allerton was hired by the company to come over as a failor, and was " to go back for the help of others behind," but " dyed here in the generall ficknes."—[Bradford, Plymouth Plant., 449» 4S4-]

»5* Thomas Englifli had been hired alfo to come over to "goe mafter of the fhalop," but died as did Allerton.

»S9 MaJUr Clarke. All that is known of this man is that he was a mailer's mate, and pilot, of the Mayflower; who had been to Virginia the year before. There is a tradition, mentioned by Morton {Memorial, 21], which is very likely true, that he landed firft on Clarke's lfland, in Plymouth harbor, which was named after him; there is another, lefe probable, that his name was Thomas ; and one, almoft furely falfe, that he fettled here, and died in 1697, aged 98.—[Savage's Gen. Dill., i. 400; Bradford, Plym. Plant., 55.]

160 « One of the company,"— either Bradford or Winflow; Dr. Young thinks the former, and from various verbal correfpondencies between this narrative and Bradford's (now recovered) hiftory, I have no doubt he was right

>6i The " fandie poynt" was neceffarily Long Point, juft in fide of which

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(Tilley\idA like [16] to haue founded,6a with cold; the ' j Gunner was alfo ficke vnto Death, (but hope of truking made him to goe) and fo remained all that day, and the next night; at length we got cleare of the fandy poynt, and got vp our fayles, and within an houre or two we got vnder the weather fhore,'63 and then had fmoother water and better fayling, but it was very cold, for the water xv\ frofe on our clothes, and made them many times like Tsqats of Iron: wee fayled fixe or feaven leagues by the fhore, but faw neither river nor creeke, at length wee mett with a tongue of Land,'64 being flat off from the fhore, with a fandy poynt, we bore vp to gaine the poynt, & found there a fayre income or rode, of a Bay, being a league over at the narroweft, and fome two or three in length, but wee made right over to the land before vs,,6s and left the difcovery of this Income till the next day: as we drew neare to the fhore, wee efpied fome ten or twelue

they lay at anchor. A north-eafter was evidently blowing, and they could not lie clofe enough into the wind to clear this point with fails, and probably the wind and incoming tide together, made it hard for them to row their clumfy fhallop out around it.

,6a Swooned.

»63 Striking acrofs toward Truro, as they came near the land they would gain fome protection from the roughnefs both of the wind and fea.

«*4 The intenfe difcomfort which they experienced doubtlefs had its effect upon their eftimate of diffance.

It is about feventeen to twenty miles from their anchorage to Billingfgate Point, — now cut off from the main into an ifland,—which muff have been the " fandy poynt" now made by them. «6s This " income," or bay, was the art dcfac of

Wellfleet Bay. "The land before us " was the eaftern more, and they probably landed and paffed the night in what is now Eaffham, a little north of Great Pond, and very near to the well-known Methodift Camp-meeting ground, about three miles due W. from Naufet Light — [Pratt's Hi/lory of Eaftham, 6.]

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Indians, very bufie about a blacke thing, what it was we could not tell, till afterwards they faw vs, and ran to and fro, as if they had beene carrying fome thing away, wee landed a league or two from them, and had much adoe to put a fliore any where, it lay fo full of flat fands,166 when we came to fhore, we made vs a Baricado,167 and got fire wood, and fet out our Sentinells, and betooke vs to our lodging, fuch as it was; we faw the fmoke of the fire which the Savages made that night, about foure or fiue myles from vs, in the morning'68 we devided our company, fome eight in the Shallop, and the reft on the fliore went to difcouer this place,169 but we found it onely to be a Bay, without either river or creeke comming into it, yet we deemed it to be as good an harbour as Cape Cod, for they that founded it, found a fhip might ride in fiue fathom water, wee on the land found it to be a levill foyle, but none of the fruitfulleft; wee faw two beckes of frefh water,'70 which were the firft running ftreames that

166 «On the weft fliore is a Tandy time, and then turned north toward

flat reaching from Suet to the bounds Wellfleet; but that theory does not

of Wellfleet; it is about one mile fo well comport with the probability

wide, is bare, or nearly fo, at low as to their firft darting, nor does it

water, and then, for about three hours, leave them where they evidently were

may be traverfed by carriages."— at night.

[Freeman's Cape Cod, ii. 353.] »7° "Beck, a fmall river, a brook." »*7 See note 78. —[Bailey.] Thefe two brooks were |6* Tkurfday, J7 Dec. found, apparently, as they were mov"69 That is, the " income" which ing northward from their campinghad attracted their intereft the night ground to inveftigate the fuitablenefs before, or Wellfleet Bay. Dr. Young of Wellfleet as a place of fettlement. thought they moved fouth for fome In which cafe, the firft would feem to

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we faw in the Country, but one might ftride over them: we found alfo a great filh, called a Grampus dead on the fands,,7' they in the Shallop found two of them alfo in the bottome of the bay, dead in like fort, they were caft Vp at high water, and could not get off for the froft and ice; they were fome [17] fiue or fixe paces long, and about two inches thicke of fat, and flefhed like a Swine, they would haue yeelded a great deale of oyle, if there had beene time and meanes to haue taken it, fo we finding nothing for our turne, both we and our Shallop returned. We then diredled our courfe along the Seafands, to the place where we firft faw

the Indians, when we were there, we faw it was alfo a Grampus which they were cutting vp, they cut it into long rands,7a or peeces, about an ellm long, and two handfull broad, wee found here and there a peece fcattered by the way, as it feemed, for haft: this place the moft were minded we fhould call, 4r .*Li*v ^*. the Grampus Bay, becaufe we found fo many of them

'M^ there: wee followed the trad of the Indians bare feete a

good way on the fands, at length we faw where they

have been Indian Brook (or Hatch's this fpecies [Deiphinus grampus] are

Creek), now the boundary-line be- fometimes thrown afhore on the Cape,

tween Eaftham and Welffieet; and twenty feet long, and having four

the fecond feems more likely to have inches of blubber."— [Chron.ofPtym.,

been the next brook north of it, run- I52-]

ing in at Frefh-Brook Village, than ■** "Rand (of beef), a long flefhy

any fouth of it, as Dr. Young fup- Piece cut from between the Flank

pofed.—\Chron. o/Pfym., 152.] and the Buttock." — [Bailey.']

«7« Dr. Young fays, " Individuals of »73 Forty-five inches.

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ftrucke into the Woods by the fide of a Pond,'74 as wee went to view the place, one fayd, hee thought hee faw an fndian-houte among the trees, fo went vp to fee: and here we and the Shallop loft fight one of another till night, it being now about nine or ten a clocke, fo we light on a path, but faw no houfe, and followed a great way into the woods,'75 at length wee found where Corne had beene fet, but not that yeare, anone we found a great burying place, one part whereof was incompaffed with a large Palazado, like a Church-yard, with yong fpires'76 foure or fiue yards long, fet as clofe one by another as they could two or three foot in the ground, within it was full of Graues, fome bigger, and fome leffe, fome were alfo paled about, & others had like an Indianhoufe*made over them, but not matted: thofe Graues were more fumptuous then thofe at Corne-kill, yet we digged none of them vp, but onely viewed them, and went our way; without the Palazado were graues alfo, but not fo coftly: from this place we went and found more Corne ground, but not of this yeare. As we ranged we light on foure or fiue Indian-\iouks% which had beene lately dwelt in, but they were vncovered, and had no matts about them, els they were like thofe we found at Corne-hUh but had not beene fo lately dwelt in,

«74 Probably the party, having explored Wellfleet to their fatisfaclion, had made their way back along the (hore until

they were near Great Pond;

7

juft north of which they had flept «7S Moft likely in the direction of

Enoch's Rock and Naufet light 176 Shoots, or young faplings.

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NEW-ENGLAND

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there was nothing left but two or three peeces of old matts, a little fedge, alfo a little further we [18] found two Baskets full of parched Acorns hid in the ground,'77 which we fuppofed had beene Corne when we beganne to dig the fame, we caft earth thereon againe & went our way. All this while we faw no people, wee went ranging vp and downe till the Sunne began to draw low, and then we hafted out of the woods, that we might come to our Shallop, which when we were out of the woods, we efpied a great way off, and call'd them to come vnto vs, the which they did as foone as they could, for it was not yet high water,178 they were exceeding glad to fee vs, (for they feared becaufe they had not feene vs in fo long a time) thinking we would haue kept by the

fhorefide, fo being both weary and faint, for we had eaten nothing all that day, we fell to make our Randevous'79 and get fire

«77 " Akornes alfo they drie, and in cafe of want of Corne, by much boyling they make a good dim of them: yea fometimes in plentie of Corne doe they eate thefe Acornes for a novelty."—[Roger Williams, 7?.-/. Hift. Coll., i. 90.]

»78 Bradford (ays, " When y« fune grue low, they hailed out of y« woods to meete with their fhallop, to whom they made fignes to come to them into a creeke hardby, the which they did at high water; of which they were very glad, for they had not feen each other all y* day, iince y« morning."— [Hift. Plym. Plant., 84.]

«79 Bradford's reference (juft quoted) to a certain "creeke" gives the clue to the po fit ion of their rendezvous this night Morton [Memorial, 19, /,^marginal note] fuggefts Namfkeket l{ * . as the creek referred to. But Nam- . *' (keket (which divides Orleans from Brewfter) feems too far off; while to reach it they would have been obliged to ford or go round three intervening creeks, fome allufion to which would have been almoft fure to have left itfelf upon the record. The probability is very ftrong, then, that Morton was miftaken, and that the firft creek which they would: come to in their

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wood, which always coft vs a great deale of labour,'80 by that time we had done, & our Shallop come to vs, it was within night, and we fed vpon fuch vidlualls as we had, and betooke vs to our reft, after we had fet out our watch. About midnight we heard a great and hideous cry, and our Sentinell called, Arme% Artne. So we beftirred our felues and fhot off a couple of Muskets, and noyfe ceafed; we concluded, that it was a company of Wolues or Foxes, for one,8' told vs, hee had heard fuch a noyfe in Newfound-land.*'About fiue a clocke in the morning,8a wee began to be ftirring, and two or three which doubted whether their Peeces would goe off or no made tryall of them, and fhot them off, but thought nothing at all, after Prayer we prepared our felues for brek-faft, and for a journey, and it being now the twilight in the morning, it was thought meet to carry the things downe to the Shallop: fome fayd, it was not beft to carry the Armour downe, others fayd, they would be readier, two or three fayd, they would not carry theirs, till they went them

coafting fouthweftwardly is that here referred to, viz., Great-Meadow Creek (or Herring River) in Eaftham, one mile N. N. E. of Rock Harbor.

"80 The trees were lofty, and the undergrowth was annually burned by the Indians, fo that they doubtlefs found it difficult to gather wood fuitable for their fire without felling large timber; which, with their tools, would be a (low and difficult tafk.

«*« Dr. Young fuggefts either Clark or Coppin as this informant, as both had been on the coaft before. But Bradford fays, " One of y fea men tould them he had often heard much a noyfe in New-found land;" by which he doubtlefs referred to one of the "three faylers who accompanied the party." (See p. 45).—[/ft# Plym. Plant, 84.]

»8* Friday, *8 Dec.

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felues, but miftrufting nothing at all: as it fell out, the water not being high enough, they layd the things downe vpon the fhore, & • came vp to brek-faft. A none, all vpon a fudden, we heard a great & ftrange cry, which we knew to be the fame voyces, though they varied their notes,'83 one of our company being abroad came running in, and cryed, They are men> Indians, Indians \ [19] and withall, their arrowes came flying amongft vs, our men ran out with all fpeed to recover their armes, as by the good Providence of God they did. In the meane time, our firftCaptaine Miles Standi/h, having a fnaphance'84 ready, ^T*the made a fhot, and after him another, after they two had Indian*, fhot, other two of vs were ready,'85 but he wifht vs not to fhoot, till we could take ayme, for we knew not what need we fhould haue, & there were foure only of vs, which had their armes there readie, and flood before the open fide of our Baricado, which was firft affaulted, they thought it beft to defend it, leaft the enemie fhould take it and our ftuffe, and fo haue the more vantage againft vs, our care

»*3 Bradford fays, "A great & ftrange ing it ott," like a cannon, with a

crie, which they knew to be the fame match; preceding by fome years the

voyces they heard in y« night, though "flint-lock." It was invented by the

they varied their notes;" a verbal Dutch, and ftruck Are with a flint,

identity indicating his authorfliip of but in a different, clumfier, and more

this portion of this " Relation." — uncertain way than the flint-lock,

\Hift. Plym, Plant, 85.] which was not introduced until Queen

"84 A fnaphance [Dutch, fnaphaan, Elizabeth's time.

,y "a fnap-lock"] appears to have been l8s That is, had lighted their gun

, Ht.\-\ . •'.. $?' A/the refult of the firft rude contri- match from the fire, and fo made

** ' 'jG^'\,y vance to fire a gun without "touch- ready for a difcharge. v*^ ^\<*

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was no leffe for the Shallop, but we hoped all the reft

would defend it; we called vnto them to know how it

was with them, and they anfwered, Well, Well, every one, and be of good courage: wee heard three of their Peeces goe off, and the reft called for a fire-brand to light their matches, one,86 tooke a log out of the fire on his fhoul der and went and carried it vnto them, which was thought did not a little difcourage our enemies. The cry of our enemiesVas dreadfull, efpecially, when our men ran out to recover their Armes, their note was after this manner, Woath woach Jia Jia JiacJi woacJi:1*7 our men were no * fooner come to their Armes, but the enemy was ready to , 4^,. ^^ k***^ ^T^ affault them. <u «/>"«tf~ WfT°

There was a luftie man and no whit leffe valiant, who was thought to bee their Captaine, flood behind a tree within halfe a musket fhot of vs, and there let his arrowes fly at vs; hee was feene to fhoote three arrowes, which were all avoyded, for he at whom the firft arrow was aymed, faw it, and ftooped downe and it flew over him, the reft were avoyded alfo: he flood three fhots of a Musket, at length one tooke as he fayd full ayme at him, after which he gaue an extraordinary cry and away they went all,'88 wee followed them about a quarter of a

>•* One of the four who were at the to write from memory; but not near

barricade enough to warrant a plauilble guefs

»*7 Of this Mr. Trumbull fays," This at the meaning. As it (lands, there

is probably as nearly like what the is no refpe&able Indian to be got out

Indians actually faid, or fhouted, as a of it" — [Ms. letter.'] badly-frightened man would be likely «** Johnfon, in his Wonder-work

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[20

mile, but wee left fixe to keepe our Shallop, for we were carefull of our bufineffe: then wee fhouted all together two feverall times, and (hot off a couple of muskets and fo returned: this wee did that they might fee wee were not afrayd of them nor difcouraged. Thus it pleafed [20] God to vanquifh our Enemies,89 and giue vs deliverance, by their noyfe we could not gueffe that they were leffe then thirty or forty, though fome thought that they were many more yet in the darke of the morning,

ing Providence, gives the following account of this tranfaclion. He fays, "Now the Indians, whofe dwellings are mod neer tbe water-fide, appeared ^ ^ , with their Bowes bent and Arrowes tk*> V* one the ftring, let fly their long (hafts

among this little company, whom they might foon have inclofed, but the Lord otherwife difpofed of it, for one Captaine Miles Standifh having his fowling-peece in a reddinefle, prefented full at them, his (hot being directed by the provident Hand of the mod high God, ftrook the (touted Sachem among them one the right arme, it being bent over his (boulder to reach an Arrow forth his Quiver, as their manner is to draw them forth in fight, at this ftroke they all fled with great fwiftnefle through the Woods and Thickets, then the Englifli, who more thirded after their converfion than dedruction, returned to their Bote without receiving any damage." He gives no clue to his authority for this (latement, except to hint his obliga

tion (poflibly) to this very " Relation," faying, he "purpofes not to fpeake particularly, being prevented by the honoured Mr. Window, who was an eyewitnefle of the worke, &c." I think he got the fact of Standidi's promptnefs in firing from this narrative, and added fome vague tradition which had reached him as to its effect — which Idifcredit The extreme particularity of the narration here is manifed (and Bradford is even more particular [Htfi. Pfytn. Plant., 86], yet does not mention this); and fo important a circumdance as Johnfon relates, if it had actually taken place, could hardly have failed to have thrud itfelf into the record.—[See Johnfon, 2 Ma/s. Htfi. Coll., ii. 67.]

**9 Samofet afterwards informed the Pilgrims that thefe were Naufet Indians, and that their hodility was occafioned by the fact that "one Hunt" had previoufly deceived them, and dolen fome of their tribe and fold them for flaves.

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wee could not fo well difcerne them among the trees, as they could fee vs by our fire fide, we took vp 18. of their arrowes which we haue fent to England by Matter /ones, * fome whereof were headed with brafle, others with Harts home, & others with Eagles clawes,9° many more no doubt were fhot, for thefe we found, were almoft covered with leaues:,9* yet by the efpeciall providence of God, none of them either hit or hurt vs, though many came clofe by vs, and on every fide of vs, and fome coates which hung vp in our Baricado, were fhot through and through. So after wee had given God thankes for our deliverance, wee tooke our Shallop and went on our Iourney, and called this place, The firjl Encounter, from hence we intended to haue fayled to the aforefayd theeuifh Harbour,19' if wee found no convenient Harbour by the

»9° No mention is here made of what feem to have been the commoneft arrow-heads of the Indians, viz., flint; doubtlefs becaufe the Indians on the Cape were not favorably fituated for procuring them. It was a great art to make them.—[See Schoolcraft's Hijl. Indian Tribes, iii. 467.] Hutchinfon fays, " After the arrival of the Englifh, they made the heads of their arrows of brafs, fattened them to a fmall ftick fix or eight inches long, formed to fix into the end of the pithy elder, which they bound round to ftrengthen it." — [Hift. Afa/s., i. 411.]

»9i The only fenfe which I can affix

to thefe words is to fuppofe that they found the arrows which they picked up had transfixed and fining many leaves

upon themfelves in their flight through the thick trees, where the dried leaves ftill clung to the branches ; and hence inferred that many more arrows had been (hot, which the denfe thicket had wholly intercepted. As they had found the fnow half a foot deep upon the ground ten days before (fee p. 29), and there had been no weather to remove it, there muft have been mow on the ground now, fo that the arrows could not have bedded themfelves in leaves as they fell.

"9* Plymouth. See p. 42.

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way, having the wind good, we fayled all that day along

* «.% >.«*! the Coaft about 15* leagues,'93 but faw neither River nor

*-m/mj~ *jj^ r _a- Creeke to put into, after we had fayled an houre or two,

Kj> ^*\!o*^ *' began to fnow and raine, and to be bad weather;,94

**uf^L n,liU*f~* about the midft of the afternoone, the winde increafed

and the Seas began to be very rough, and the hinges of

the rudder broke, fo that we could fteere no longer with

it, but two men with much adoe were faine to ferue with

a couple of Oares, the Seas were growne fo great, that

we were much troubled and in great danger, and night

grew on: Anon Mafter Coppin bad vs be of good cheere

he faw the Harbour,,9S as we drew neare, the gale being

ftiffe, and we bearing great fayle to get in, fplit our Mart

in 3. peices, and were like to haue caft away our Shallop,

yet by Gods mercy recovering our felues, wee had the

floud with vs, and ftruck into the Harbour.

Now he that thought that had beene the place was deceived, it being a place where not any of vs had beene before, and comming into the Harbour, he that was our

»93 They coafted along within fight went by that inlet without feeing it;

of the fhore all the way, fo as to dif- making the fnow-florm, which was

cover, if poffible, fome harbor, into not then "joyous but grievous," dill

which they might go. Thus coafting, a blefling, in preventing them from

from the place .of their " firft encoun- fettling (as they might have done had

ter" in Eaftham, to Manomet Bluff, they gone in there) in a much lefe

which marks the fouthern fide of favorable place than Plymouth.

Plymouth Bay, would be fifteen »95 He probably recognized Mano

leagues, good meafure. met looming through the ftorm, and

^ . >94 This thick weather came on be- after patting Manomet Point fleered

» M .- fore they were off Barnflable, and they N. W. by Elifha's Point to (hoot in.

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«] IN AMERICA 57

Pilot did beare vp Northward,'96 which if we had continued wee had [21] beene caft away, yet ftill the Lord kept vs, and we bare vp for an Hand before vs, and

>9* Bradford fays that Coppin and the firft mate (Clark) "would have run her afhore, in a cove full of breakers, before y« wind. But a lufty feaman which (leered, bad thofe which rowed, if they were men, about with her, or ells they were all caft away; the which they did with fpeed. So he bid them be of good cheere & row luftly, for ther was a faire found before them, & he doubted not but they fhould find one place or other wher they might ride in faftie. And though it was very darke, and rained fore, yet in ye end they gott under y« lee of a fmalle iland, and remained there all y* night in faftie. But they knew not this to be an iland till morning, but were devided in their minds; fome would kccpc y« boate for fear they might be amongft y* Indians ; others were fo weake

and could, they could not endure, but got a fhore, & with much adoe got fire (all things being fo wett) and y« reft were glad to come to them; for after midnight y« wind fhifted to the North-weft, & it frofe hard."—[ffi/l. Plym. Plant., 87.]

It has always been confidered, on the authority of Morton [N. E. Mem., 21J that this "cove full of breakers" was the cove ftill exifting between Saquifh Point and Gurnet Head. But as Morton was miftaken as to Namfkaket he may have been in this; and (with diffidence) I venture another 8

theory. My objections to this cove are: (a) that approaching from the Sandwich fhore, after rounding Manomet Point, they would have been moil likely (efpecially with the wind at the N. £., where it unqueftionably was) to have fleered in by Elifha's Point, W. N. W., almoft ftraight for the end of the beach—which would have carried them a mile and a half S. W. from the cove referred to; (d) that the flood-tide (which they fay they had with them), with the gale, would have fwept them almoft inevitably over toward the other fide of the channel; (c) that if they were running " before y* winde" into the cove, as Bradford fays, it muft have been a cove on the S. W. and not on the N. £. fide of the harbor-entrance; (d) that, when they came about, "ther was a faire found before them," which would be exactly true if the cove were on the beach, and they came about with their head toward Clark's I (land, but which would not be true (unlefs Brown's Ifland were then an ifland and not a fhoal, which is a mooted point) if the cove were eaft of Saquifh; (e) that the fuppofition that they were over in a cove near the extremity of the beach, and then bore up northward, exactly makes natural their ftatement of bearing up " for an Iland before vs" (Saquifh Point), and " recovering of that Hand," 1. *., getting

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recovering of that Hand/97 being compaffed about with many. Rocks, and darke night growing upon vs, it pleafed the Divine providence that we fell vpon a place of fandy ground, where our Shallop did ride fafe and fecure all that night, and comming vpon a ftrange Hand,9i kept our watch all night in the raine vpon that Hand: and in the

by Saquifh (a now obfolete fenfe of the word "recover," fee Webfter), they " fell upon a place of fandy ground," &c, i. *., they ran along the fandy flat (kirting Clark's I (land on the W. and S.

If Morton had himfelf been prefent, or had received the ftatement from one who was prefent, his authority could only be impaired by the fuggeftion that even perfons who are familiar with fuch localities are liable to make miftakes in regard to them in the denfe darknefs and driving rain of a winter's ftorm, — as many a fad fhipwreck has teftified. But he was not there, nor is it fure that he had his information from any one who was. It is quite as likely that — from this ftatement above, that the pilot "did beare vp north-ward,"— he, from his knowledge of the bay, judged that that courfe would land them between the Gurnet and Saquifh, and fo fet it down; without contideration of wind, tide, or other modifying circumftances. If this " Relation " is not mi flak en in this ftatement of the courfe which the pilot fleered, my theory may indeed be fhaken; but I hold it to be by no means impoffible that Morton haftily

judged, and that the courfe fleered here was mi (apprehended in the darknefs and confufion; fo that I venture to think it poffible that the cove was fome indentation then exifting on the feaward fide of the beach, near its terminus.

«97 The extremity of Saquifh, which would look like an ifland to them; which may indeed have been an ifland at that time by the wafh of the fea acrofs its low connecting beach.

>9* Clark's Ifland, named, Morton fays \N, E. Afem., 21], after the firft mate of the Mayflower, becaufe he firft ftepped afhore thereon. It contained, in 1687, 86 J acres and 3 rods, and was anciently covered with red cedar, years ago fold in Bofton for gate-pofls. Five or fix of thefe ancient trees — the largeft perhaps 6 feet in circumference, and 20 feet in hight —ftill ftand, in a gnarled and ftunted condition. There is a huge old rock on the ifland, called, for fome local reafon, " Eleaion Rock." The ifland is ftill owned by the Watfon Family, who have been in pofTeflion for many years. — [Thatcher's Hift. Pfym.t 331 ; Gale's Pilgrims' Firft Year in N. E., 100.]

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morning we marched about it, & found no Inhabitants at all, and here wee made our Randevous all that day, being Saturday,199 10. of December, on the Sabboth day300 wee refted,*" and on Munday~a we founded the Harbour, and

found it a uery good Harbour for our (hipping, we marched alfo into the Land, and found divers corne fields, and little running brookes,** a place very good for fcituation,**4 fo we returned to our Ship againe with good newes to the reft of our people, which did much comfort their hearts.**

«99 Saturday, 99 Dec. The Englifh printers, among their many errors in printing the Mfs. of this " Relation," changed the full (lop which muft have been after Saturday here, to a comma; thus making an apparent error in date. It mould read, "being Saturday. 10. of December, on the Sabboth day, wee refted," &c.; making the 10th qualify Sunday rather than Saturday.

*» Sunday, £ Dec.

*» The artifts have, fo far, overlooked this noble theme for a picture, — this Sabbath's reft of fuch a company, in fuch a place, with fo many motives for hafte.

*» Monday, \\ Dec. Forefathers' Day.

»3 There were at lead eight brooks running into the harbor which a reconnoifiance of five or fix miles along the more would have revealed to them; viz., Eel River, running in in the inner angle made by the beach ;

Wellingfly; Town Brook, the copious outlet of Billington Sea; and five namelefs rivulets N. W. of this, toward Jones River. The Pilgrims feem to have had no idea of digging wells to fupply themfelves with water, but depended upon running dreams.

n Bradford (ays it was " a place (as they fuppofed) fitt for fituation; at leeft it was y beft they could find, and y* feafon, & their prefent neceflitie, made them glad to accepte of it" — [Hi/l. Plym. Plant, 88.] This was written at lead ten

years after this date of landing, and is modified by Bradford's later experience, which compelled a fomewhat lefs cheerful view of the capabilities of the fpot than they feem to have taken at the firft.

*>5 No one fpecifies the exa£t date of their return. As they muft, however, have fpent the beft part of Monday in their explorations, and would not be likely to ftart at night, it feems

•?<

^ £«..«f/Aa.

fa' *MAS «'t/tV*«iV

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On the fifteenth day,306 we waighed Anchor, to goe to the place we had difcovered, and comming within two leagues of the Land, we could not fetch the Harbour, but were faine to put roome*7 againe towards Cape Cod, our courfe lying Weft; and the wind was at North weft, but it pleafed God that the next day being Saturday the 16. day, the winde came faire, and wee put to Sea againe, and came fafely into a fafe Harbour; and within halfe an houre the winde changed, fo as if we had beene letted208 but a little, we had gone backe to Cape Cod. This Harbour is a Bay greater then Cape Cod, compaffed with a goodly Land, and in the Bay, 2. fine Hands vninhabited,309 wherein are nothing but wood, Okes, Pines, WalVu.i-v /fcv nut, Beech, Safifras, Vines, and other trees which wee

Ivi 0u. a^^. *know not j This Bay is a moft hopefull place, innumera

ble ftore of fowle, and excellent good, and cannot but bee • of fifh in their feafons: Skote,a,° Cod, Turbot,a" and Her

probable that they failed on the morn- *>7 Bradford probably wrote either

ing of Tuefday J* Dec, and as they "to put round" or " to get roome

appear to have gone ftraight acrofs again towards Cape Cody11 which the

the bay, — a diftance of not more printers marred as it (lands,

than twenty-fix miles, — they proba- ** " Let, to hinder." — [Bailey.']

bly reached the Mayflower before *>9 Clark's I (land and Saquifh, — if

night of that day. They found that, the fea then flowed acrofs the neck

while they had been exploring the connecting it with Gurnet Head, as is

Indian graves at Eaftham, on the not improbable. — [See note 197.]

Thurfday previous, Mrs. Dorothy *»© This is, of courfe, a mifprint for

Bradford, the wife of the hiftorian of Jkate, — the Rata batis, — which is

, . \ the party, had found a watery grave edible, and which is (till caught off

by falling over the (hip's fide.— Plymouth.

[Prince, 76.] »« The fifh known as turbot {Rhom

*>6 Friday, ** Dec. bus maximus) in England, is not found

.>. M. '^ fcfc, *** A1J.

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ring,*" wee haue tailed of, abundance of Mufles the greateft & beft that ever we faw; Crabs and Lobfters, in their time infinite, It is in fafhion like a Cikle or Fifli-hooke."3

Munday the 13. day, we went a land, manned with the Maifter of the Ship, and 3. or 4. of the Saylers, we marched [22] along the coaft in the woods, fome 7. or 8. mile,"4 but faw not an Indian nor an Indian houfe, only we found where formerly, had beene fome Inhabitants, and where they had planted their corne: we found not any Navigable River, but 4. or 5. fmall running brookes

in our waters. The flounder {Plateffa plana) fomewhat refembles the turbot in general appearance, and, being a harbor fifh, it feems likelieft to have been that here referred to, and not the halibut (Hippoglojfus vulgaris), which is only caught in deep water outfide, where the Pilgrims would have been lefs likely to fifh, fo Jong as they found an abundance nearer (hore. The New Engliflt Canaan does indeed fay, " there is a large fized fifh called Hallibut, or Turbut; fome are taken fo bigg that two men have much a doe to hale them into the boate, &c;" but it ftill feems to me more probable

that our fathers, at their firft landing, fhoufd have called the flounder by this name. — [Force, n., v. 61.]

*** The Clupea elonga/a9 and Alofa vernalis, or alewive. Of the latter, 800 barrels ufed to be taken in a fingle

year from Town Brook in Plymouth, as they were on their way up to Billington Sea, to fpawn.—[Thacher's Hi/l. Pfym., 321.]

«3 If the whole fweep of the bay, including the flretch of the beach on one fide, and of the Gurnet on the other, is taken into the account, it is more like two fickles, or fifh-hooks.

«4 I conceive that they landed at the rock, and went toward Kingflon, although they could not have travelled more than five or fix miles, even with all their irregularity of progrefs,— back from the fhote and down again, — without coming to Jones's River. They would have been lefs likely, it feems to me, to go the other way— toward Manomet; becaufe they could eafily fee that the harbor came to a fpeedy end on that fide, while the fhore of it flretched out of fight in the oppofite direction.

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of very fweet frefh water, that all run into the Sea; The Land for the cruft of the earth is a fpits depth, excellent blacke mold and fat in fome places, 2. or 3. great Oakes but not very thicke, Pines, Wal-nuts Beech2,s Afh, Birch, Hafell,"6

Holley, Afp,117 Safifras, in abundance, & Vines euery where, Cherry trees,"8 Plum-trees,"9 and many other which we know not; many kinds of hearbes, we' found heere in Winter, as Strawberry leaues innumerable, Sorrell,"0 Yarow,"' Caruell,2" Brook-lime,"3 Liver-wort,"4 Water-creffes,"5 great ftore of Leekes, and Onyons,"6 and an excellent ftrong kind of Flaxe, and Hempe;"7 here is fand, gravell, and excellent clay no better in the Worlde,"8 excellent for pots, and will wafh like fope, and great ftore of ftone, though fomewhat foft, and the beft water that

"5 Beech) the Fagus Sylvatica, a clean, beautiful tree, though fcarcely fo long lived as many of its foreft compeers. It is (aid that it is never (truck by lightning.

a 16 Cory/us Americana.

«7 Probably the American afpen (Populus tremuliformis).

« Perhaps the northern red cherry (Cera/us Pennfylvanica) may have grown there; the black cherry (Cera/us ferotina) and choke-cherry (Cera/us Virginiana) certainly did.

a«9 Prunus mttritima, and poflibly alfo Prunus Americana.

**> Rumex acetofella.—[Coll. Amer. Antiq. Soc, iv. 172.]

«» Achillea millefolium.

m* Chervil (CharophyHum fati

vum)t Prof. Tuckerman intimates [Coll. Amer. Antiq. Soc, iv. 121] that the author is miftaken in including " carvel" here.

"3 Veronica beccabunga.

"4 Hepatica triloba.

"5 Nafturtium paluftrey or Cardamine hirfuta.—[Coll. Amer. Antiq. Soc. iv. 172.]

2a6 Allium lricoccumf and Allium Canadenfe.

**7 Linum Virginianum9 and perhaps Apocynum cannabinum.

«8 " There is in the center of the farm [that of I. L. Hedge, Efq., in Plymouth] an immenfe mafs of clay, for the manufacture of brick, which is conducted on a large fcale."—[Thacher's Hijl. Plym. 313.]

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ever we drunke, and the Brookes now begin to be full of fifli; that night many being weary with marching, wee went abourd againe.

The next morning being Tuefday the 19. of December, wee went againe to difcover further; fome went on Land, and fome in the Shallop, the Land we found as the former day we did, and we found a Creeke, and went vp three Englifh myles, a very pleafant river"* at full Sea, a Barke of thirty tunne may goe vp, but at low water fcarce our Shallop could paffe: this place a3° we had a great liking to plant in, but that it was fo farre from our fifliing our principall profit, and fo incompaffed with woods, that we fhould bee in much danger of the Salvages, and our number being fo little, and fo much ground to cleare, fo as we thought good to quit and clearea3' that • place, till we were of more ftrength; fome of vs hauing a good minde for fafety to plant in the greater He,*3* wee croffed the Bay which there is fiue or fixe myles ouer,*33

"9 Going over the fame ground they good to quit and not cleare that

had travelled the day before, in part, place," &c. It feems to me more

they came to Jones's River, which probable that they ufed the verb

they could go up juft about "three "cleare" here in the not unknown

myles," including all its windings;
fenfeof"leaving,"or"paffingover,or

though at the end of the three miles away from;" as where Camillo fays,— they would be fcarcely half that diftance, in a ftraight line, from its mouth.

>3° The village of Kingfton occupies cu*r them o' the dty," &c this territory. Wini*t>t T*let Act I. Sc a.

»3i Dr. Young fuggefted that the »3» Clark's Ifland. word "not" was here omitted, mak- 133 It is juft five miles acrofs the ing the true text, "fo as we thought bay from the mouth of Jones's River

* Your follower* I will whifper to the bafineft; And will, by twos and threes, at feveral poftern*

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and found the He about a myle and a halfe, or two myles about, all wooded, and no frefli water but 2. or 3. pits, that we doubted of frefli water in Summer, and fo full of woodj [23] as we could hardly cleare fo much as to feme vs for Corne, befides wee iudged it colde for our Corne, and fome part very rockie, yet diuers thought of it as a place defenfible, and of great fecuritie.

That night we returned againe a fhip boord, with resolution the next morning to fettle on fome oC thofe places, fo in the morning,*34 after we had called on God for direction, we came to this refolution, to goe prefently afhore againe, and to take a better view of two places, which wee thought moft fitting for vs, for we could not now take time for further fearch or confideration, our victuals being much fpent, efpecially, our Beere, and it being now the 19. of December. After our landing and viewing of the places, fo well as we could we came to a conclufion, by moft voyces, to fet on the maine Land, on the firft place, on an high ground, where there is a great deale of Land cleared, and hath beene planted with Corne three or four yeares agoe, and there is a very fweet brooke runnes vnder the hill fide,*35 and many delicate fprings of as good water as can be drunke, and where we may harbour our Shallops and Boates exceeding well, and in this

to the inner more of the Gurnet op- '35 This defcription indicates that

polite to it; but it is fcarcely three and they pitched upon the high land below

three-quarters miles to Clark's Ifland. Burial Hill, and juft N. W. of Town

334 Wedne/day, £ Dec. Brook.

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brooke much good fifli in their feafons: on the further u ^ ,j ^3

fide of the river alfo much Corne ground cleared, in one "*-** j^~Z ***

field is a great hill,*36 on which wee poynt to make a plat- *= ^ ^

forme, and plant our Ordinance, which will command all round about, from thence we may fee into the Bay, and farre into the Sea, and we may fee thence Cape Cod: *37 our greateft labour will be fetching of our wood, which is halfe a quarter of an Englifli myle, but there is enough fo farre off; what people inhabite here we yet know not, for as yet we haue feene none, fo there we made our Randevous, and a place for fome of our people about twentie, refolving in the morning to come all afhore, and to build houfes, but the next morning being Thurfday the 21. of December, it was ftormie and wett, that we could

not goe afhore, and thofe that remained there all night could doe nothing, but were wet, not having dai-light enough to make them a fufficient court of gard,a38 to keepe them dry. All that night it blew and rayned ex^ treamely; [24] it was fo tempeftuous, that the Shallop could not goe on land fo foone as was meet, for they had no victuals on land. About 11. a Clocke the Shallop went off with much adoe with provifion, but could not

»36 Burial Hill, 165 feet above the bor, and the neighborhood.—[Thach

fea level, and including about eight er's Hift, Plytn., 324.]

acres. A rude fort was early built on a37 This is a common experience in

the S. W. fummit, and in 1675, in a clear day.

Philip's War, a ftrong ftockade was 238 Cour de garde, a guard-houfe;

erected there. It commands a mod conveying the double idea of (helter

charming view of the town, the har- and fecurity.

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returne it blew fo ftrong, and was fuch foule weather, that we were forced to let fall our Anchor, and ride with three Anchors an head.139

Friday the 22. the ftorme ftill continued, that we could not get a-land, nor they come to vs aboord: this morning Good wife Alderton** was delivered of a fonne, but dead borne.

Saturday the 23. fo many of vs as could, went on fliore, felled and carried tymberj to provide themfelues ftuffe for building.

Sunday the 24. our people on fhore heard a cry of fome Savages (as they thought) which caufed an Alarm, and to ftand on their gard, expecting an affault, but all was quiet.*4'

Munday the 25. day, we went on fhore, fome to fell tymber, fome to faw, fome to riue, and fome to carry, fo no man refted all that day,*4' but towards night fome as they were at worke, heard a noyfe of fome Indians, which

>39 To add to the gloom of the ftorm, on this day dies Richard Britteridge (fee note 27, No. 34), the firft of the

company whom they bury at Plymouth. — [Prince (on authority of Bradford's pocket-book), Annals, pt i. 80.]

340 Mary, wife of Ifaac Allerton. (See note 27, No. 5.)

m Prince fays, " This day (Lord's day, aJ J*|£) dies Solomon Martin, the fixth and lad who dies this month."

The man intended is obvioufly Solomon Prower (fee note 27, No. 9), fervant of Mr. Chriftopher Martin, whom Bradford, in his pocket-book note, on which Prince relied, by an inadvertence eafy under the circumftances, called by his mailer's name.—[Prince, Annals, i. 80.]

u* "And y« 25. day began* to erecle y« firft houfe for commone ufe to receive them and their goods."—[Bradford, Hijl. Pfym. Plant., 88.]

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caufed vs all to goe to our Muskets, but we heard no further, fo we came aboord againe, and left fome twentie to keepe the court of gard; that night we had a fore ftorme of winde and rayne.

Munday the 25. being Chriftmas day, we began to drinke water aboord, but at night the Mafler caufed vs to haue fome Beere,*43 and fo on boord we had diverfe times now and then fome Beere, but on fliore none at all.

Tuefday the 26. it was foule weather, that we could not goe afliore.

Wednefday the 27. we went to worke againe.

Thurfday the 28. of December, fo many as could went to worke on the hill, where we purpofed to build our platforme for our Ordinance, and which doth command all the plaine, and the Bay, and from whence we may fee farre into the fea, and might be eafier impayled, having two rowes of houfes and a faire ftreete.'44 So in the after^ noone we went to meafure out the grounds, and firft, we

»43 The ftock was getting low, and neceflitating fcant allowance.

»44 Dr. Young thought fomething was omitted here. But he took their language as implying that they now commenced to build their ftockade on the fummit of Burial Hill, and fo could not connect the " two rowes of houfes and a faire ftreete " with that. It feems to me, however, that their language only implies that they commenced work on the flope of the hill,

on the fummit of which they intended by and by to build their " platforme for ordinance," and that they proceeded to lay out on that flope the firft ftreet, and the firft lots, and to aflign them to families and groups ; this need being more prefling than the other. The common houfe was now (rudely) complete, as their temporary fhelter (with the fhip) while building their feveral dwellings, and the time had come for the latter work.

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tooke notice how many [25] Families they were, willing all fingle men that had no wiues to ioyne with fome Familie, as they thought fit, that fo we might build fewer houfes, which was done, and we reduced them to 19. Families;*45 to greater Families we allotted larger plots, to every perfon halfe a pole in breadth, and three in length,346 and fo Lots were caft where euery man fliould lie, which was done, and flaked out; we thought this proportion was large enough at the firft, for houfes and gardens, to impale them round,'47 confidering the weaknes of our people, many of them growing ill with coldes, for our former Difcoveries in froft and ftormes, and the wading at Cape Cod had brought much weakenes amongft vs, which increafed fo every day more and more, and after was the caufe of many of their deaths.

Fryday and Saturday,248 we fitted our felues for our labour, but our people on fhore were much troubled and difcouraged with rayne and wett that day, being very flormie and cold; we faw great fmokes of firea49 made by

»45 When they reached Cape Cod, a47 Thefe grounds were meafured

there were eighteen husbands and out on the north and fouth fides of

wives in the company—befides four what is now Leyden Street. The firft

fathers, each with one or more fons ; volume of the Plymouth Records of

as the bails of this clarification into Deeds contains, in Gov. Bradford's

families. handwriting, a rude plot of this ftreet,

»4* This would give to fuch a family with the names of feven of thofe whofe

as Carver's (numbering eight) a plot lots fell on the fouih fide,

of 66 feet front, by 49J feet in depth. '48 Friday, *g £";, Saturday, 3* f£,

Each perfon was to have (8£ feet by 16™.

49J feet) 408^ fquare feet. »49 In the direction of Duxbury, on

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the Indians about fix or feaven myles from vs as we conlectured.*50

Munday the firft of January, we went betimes to worke, we were much hindred in lying fo farre off from the Land, and faine to goe as the tyde ferved, that we loft much time, for our Ship drew fo much water,*5' that flic lay a myle and almoft a halfc off, though a (hip of feaventie or eightie tun at high water may come to the fhore.25'

the north, or of Telegraph Hill, on the fouth, as they could fcarcely fee that diftance direclly inland. As the Indians finally approached from the fouth, it is perhaps more probable that they were now lurking in that direction.

*5° Baylies fays [Afemoir of Plym. Col., i. 61] that on the next day (Sab

htlth* ?ij™.' ,6H) "they named their fettlcment Plymouth, becaufe this place had been fo called by Capt. Smith, who had previoufly furveyed the harbor; and they remembered the kindnefs which they had experienced from the people of Plymouth in England." But he gives no authority for this ftatement. Mr. Palfrey [Hijl. New Eng.y i. 172] difcufles, at fome length, the date of the aflignmcnt of this name, and evidently feels that it is wholly a matter of conjecture. *5» The Mayflower was of 180 tons. Bradford fays, "Of burden about 9 fcore." — [Hi/l. Plym. Plant., 58.] If the harbor were then at all as now, or as it has been for the laft hundred

years, (he probably lay at anchor in the channel jufl mfide the end of the beach. Dr. Young, in fuggefting that (he lay in the " Cow Yard," difregarded this facl of her diftance from the landing; his fuppofttion would nearly or quite double the " myle and almoft a halfe " of which they fpeak — if we fuppofe them to take the landing-rock as their point of departure.

s» Prince fays [N. E. Chron. pt ii. 96], " The year begins with the death oiDegory PrieflP (See note 27, No. 29.) Prieft is fet down in the Leyden Records as " from London," and had been many years a member of the Leyden company. It is on record, that, t Nov., 1611, he married Sarah (Allerton) Vincent, widow of John Vincent ; jj Nov., 1615, he was adnvtted a citizen of Leyden; and, in April, 1619, he (calling himfelf "a hatter") depofcs that he is forty years of age, and knows one Nicolas Claverly. This would make him from forty-one to forty-two when he died.—[Leyden Mfs. Records.]

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Wednefday the third of January, fome of our people being abroad, to get and gather thatch, they faw great fires of the Indians, and were at their Come fields, yet faw none of the Savages, nor had feene any of them fince wee came to this Bay.

Thurfday the fourth of January, Captaine Miles Standijli with foure or fiue more, went to fee if they could meet with any of the Savages in that place where the fires were made, they went to fome of their houfes, but not lately inhabited, yet could they not meete with any; as they came home, they fliot at an Eagle and killed her, which was excellent meat; It was hardly to be difcerned from Mutton.853 [26]

Fryday the fifth of January, one of the Saylers found aliue vpon the fliore an Hering, which the Mafter had to his fupper, which put vs in hope of fifli, but as yet we had got but one Cod; we wanted fmall hookes.254

Saturday the fixt of January, Mafter Marten*11 was very ficke, and to our iudgement, no hope of life, fo Mafter Carver was fent for to come abourd to fpeake with him about his accompts, who came the next morning.

x +' 353 It was fome time fince thefe had been fele&ed with Carver and H *i '^'' P°°r men ^ac* tested mutton ! Cufhman "to make y« provifions for ?jU vf k *uA^id+*. 254 To this

fingle circumftance much y« vioage," being chofen to reprefent /KU*^/* " li 7 k-*£** 0f their difcomfort in regard to food the new Englilh members of the comfit - .tab t ifiL *ruu, t**4l* was due. pany, " not fo much for any great need **** tkJU^KtL « ***uU* J» v+u+ 155 Chri/topher Martin (fee note 27, of their help, as to avoyd all fufipition "1 frvaJ • ik^^rur^ & (^ No. 9) was from Billericay, in Eflex, or jelofie of any partiallitie." Hence 4n* V^Atw kwJ »W*m^a^ joining the company in England. He his defire to confer with Carver in

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Munday the eight day of January, was a very fayre day, and we went betimes to worke, mafler /ones fent the Shallop as he had formerly done, to fee where fifli could be got, they had a greate ftorme at Sea, and were in fome danger, at night they returned with three greate Seales,*56 and an excellent good Cod, which did affure vs that we fliould haue plentie of fifh fliortly.

This day, Francis Billington, having the weeke before feene from the top of a tree on an hie hill, a great fea as he thought, went with one of the Mailers mates to fee it, they went three myles, and then came to a great water, devided into two great Lakes, the bigger of them fiue or fixe myles in circuit, and in it an He of a Cable length fquare, the other three miles in compaffe;*57 in their eftimation they are fine frefh water, full of fifh, and foule; a brooke*58 iffues from it,

it will be an excellent helpe for vs in time. They found feaven or eight Indian houfes, but not lately inhabited, when they faw the houfes they % *.> h-to* were in fome feare, for they were but two perfons and one peece.

Tuefday the 9. Ianuary, was a reafonable faire day,

referencc to "his accompts." He died on the Monday following, *8 Jan., 16™.—[Bradford, Pfym. Plant., 56; Prince, N. E. Citron., pt ii. 96.]

»s6 A feal is not an uncommon fight at this day along the Old Colony mores.

m Billington Sea anfwers to this

defcription in every particular but that of diftance ; but its difcoverers doubtlefs traveled three miles through the foreft before they reached it It is fcarcely two miles S. W. from the town.

»s* Town Brook, on whofe northern bank they were fettling.

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i^ ^f ^ ^-^ — ^ —- -v— <? - J*C; lr •

and wee went to labour that day in the building of our

Towne, in two rowes of houfes for more fafety: we de

vided by lott the plot of ground whereon to build our

Towne: After the proportion formerly allotted,*59 wee

agreed that every man fhould build his owne houfe,

thinking by that courfe, men would make more haft then

^^Li^ ^^1^'bUic, wor^ng *n common: the common houfe, in which for

fjfkmMl^ um**4aA , the firft, we made our Rendevous,*60 being neere finiflied

hT^^^t^kx^4^ wanted onely couering, it being about 20. foote fquare,

**+, * ** /fc^ic, *~f, fome fhould make morter, and [27] fome gather thatch,

<*t*^ku+ *«~ -atfby. fo that in foure d halfe of it was thatched, froft and

foule weather hindred vs much, this time of the yeare feldome could wee worke halfe the weeke*1

Thurfday the eleuenth, William Bradford** being at

worke, (for it was a faire day) was vehemently taken with

a griefe and paine, and fo fhot to his huckle-bone;163 It

^HuiAi was doubted that he would haue inftantly dyed, hee got

^MUtirtk 359 See note 246.

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»6o This flood partly on the lot of late years occupied by the houfe of Capt. Samuel D. Holmes, on the fouth fide of Leyden Street, near the declivity of the hill toward the water fide. — [RufTelTs Pilgrim Memorials,

S5-]

*6» Gov. Dudley, in his letter to the Countefs of Lincoln (of date \\ March, i6p, fays the Plymouth fettlers had " the favour of a calme winter fuch as was never feen here fmce."—[Force, n., iv. 7.] Although they had many

rainy days, the winter was doubtlefs more favorable than the average to their work. A paflage in Window's letter (near the clofe of this volume — p. 62 of the original paging) corroborates that theory.

26a The abfence of the preliminary "Mr." from this name here (a title which they were fcrupulous to bellow upon thofe who were entitled to it, by their cuftom) is a ftrong hint that Bradford was himfelf the modeft penman of this part of this narrative.

363 Hip-bone.

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colde in the former difcoveries, efpecially the laft, and felt fome paine in his anckles by times, but he grew a little better towards night and in time through Gods mercie in the vfe of meanes recovered.

Friday the 12. we went to worke, but about noone, it began to raine, that it forced vs to giue over worke.

This day, two of our people put vs in great forrow and care, there was 4. fent to gather and cut thatch in the morning, and two of them, John Goodman** and Peter Browne?* having cut thatch ** all the fore-noone, went to

*>4 John Goodman (note 27, No. 28) had a (hare in the firft divifion of land, and had the firft lot eaft of Elder Brewfter, but died "in the general ficknes," before the end of March. — [Pfym. Co/. Rec, xii. 3; Prince, N. E. C/tron., pt ii. 86; Bradford, Hift. Pfym. Plant., 454.]

»6s Peter Browne (note 27, No. 33) was brother of John, of Duxbury, and himfelf fettled there. He married twice. His firft wife's name appears to have been Martha; his fecond's certainly was Mary. He was " amerced in y. fine " for not appearing at court ,', Jan., 163*, and the fame fum next day for the fame offence; Jan. /, 163* a difpute between him and Dr. Fuller, in their accounts, was referred to the arbitration of Robert Hicks and Francis Cooke; 25 March, 1633, he was taxed i8j.,—the higheft tax being that of Ifaac Allerton, £2 IIJ«> and the loweft 9^. He died in October, 1633, leaving an eftate of j£ioo. His 10

widow Mary adminiftered, and was ordered by the court to pay over, in truft, for the ufe of Mary and Prifcilla, his firft

wife's children, ^15 each; they being bound out, the one to Mr. John Done for nine years, the other to Mr. Will. Gilfon for twelve years* There were two children by the fecond wife. William Brewfter became the widow's furety. It is my impreffion that Mary married Eph. Tinkham of Middleborough; and Prifcilla, William Allin of Sandwich. — [Pfym. Cot. Rec., i. 5, 7, 8, 10, 18; xii. 146, 186.]

** " Thatch, Straw, Reeds, &c. for covering Houfes." — [Bailey.] The coarfe grafs and flags which they could reap with their fickles by the fides of the brooks, and on the meadows bordering the ponds, were what they feem now to have been in purfuit of, for roofing their new houfes after the fafhion ftill exifting in the rude Englifh cottages.

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a further place, and willed the other two, to binde vp that which was cut and to follow them; fo they did, being about a myle and a halfe from our Plantation: but when the two came after, they could not finde them, nor heare any thing of them at all, though they hallowed and (houted as loud as they could, fo they returned to the Company and told them of it: whereupon Mafter Leaver*1 & three or foure more went to feeke them, but could heare nothing of them, fo they returning, fent more, but that night they could heare nothing at all of them : the next day they armed 10. or 12. men out, verily thinking the Indians had furprifed them, they went feeking 7. or 8, myles, but could neither fee nor heare any thing at all, fo they returned with much difcomfort to vs all. Thefe two that were miffed, at dinner time tooke their meate in their hands, and would goe walke and refrefli

themfelues, fo going a litle off they finde a lake of water,268 and having a great Maftiffe bitch with them and a Spannell; by the water fide they found a great Deere, A*

>7 An obvious mifprint for "Car- Lout Pond, which is a fmall lake per- . 'iT'!^

ver," though Prince indorfes it as it haps a quarter of a mile in length, a , **

(lands.—[JV. E. Chron., pt. ii. 97.] little E. of Billington Sea, feems to

*** Dr. Young fuppofed this to be me beft to fulfill the conditions of the

Murdock's Pond. But Murdock's narrative here. If they had been fol

Pond could not have been more than lowing up Town Brook a mile and a

one hundred rods W. of their com- half, cutting thatch along its banks,

mon houfe; while the two men were they would be not more than half a

" about a myle and a halfe from the mile from this pond, and might very

Plantation " before they began to wan- naturally ftroll over through the open

der further; fo that Dr. Young's fup- woods towards it, as fuggefted, while

pofition is neceflarily inadmiflible. eating their dinners.

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the Dogs chafed him, and they followed fo farre as they loft themfelues, and could not finde the way backe, they wandred [28] all that after-noone being wett, and at night it did freeze and fnow, they were flenderly apparelled and had no weapons but each one his Cicle,*69 nor any victuals, they ranged vp and downe and could finde none of the Salvages habitations; when it drew to night they were much perplexed, for they could finde neither harbour nor meate, but in froft and fnow, were forced to make the earth their bed, and the Element their covering, and another thing did very much terrifie them, they heard as they thought two Lyons a7° roaring exceedingly for a long time together, and a third, that they thought was very nere them, fo not knowing what to do, they refolved to climbe vp into a tree as their fafeft refuge, though that would proue an intollerable colde lodging; fo they ftoode at the trees roote, that when the Lyons came they might take their opportunitie of climbing vp, the bitch they were faine to hold by the necke, for fliee would haue beene gone to the Lyon; but it pleafed God fo to difpofe, that the wilde Beaftes came not: fo they walked vp and downe vnder the Tree all night, it was an extreame colde night, fo foone as it was light27' they trauailed againe, pafling by many lakes and brookes and

a^9 With which to cut thatch. novel a found to thefe old-country

*7<> Beyond doubt thefe were wolves, fettlers' ears as the roaring of lions

which then haunted the Old-Colony would have been.

woods, and whofe howling was as »7« Saturday, ** Jan., 16^.

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woods, and in one place where the Salvages had burnt the fpace of 5. myles in length, which is a fine Champion Countrey, and even.*7' In the after-noone, ft pleafed God from an high Hill*73 they difcovered the two lies in the Bay,*74 and fo that night got to the Plantation, being ready to faint with travaile and want of victuals, and almoft famiflied with colde, John Goodman was faine to haue his fhooes cut off his feete they were fo fwelled with colde, and it was a long while after ere he was able to goe; thofe on the fhore were much comforted at their returne, but they on fliip-boord were grieved as deeming them loft; but the next day being the 14. of Ianuary,*75 in the morning about fixe of the clocke the winde being very great, they on fliip-boord fpied their great new Randevous on fire, which was to them a new difcomfort, fearing becaufe of the fuppofed loffe of the men, that the Salvages had fiered them, neither could

they prefently goe to them for want of water, but af- [29] ter 3. quarters of an houre they went, as they had purpofed the day before to keepe the Sabboth on fhore, becaufe now there was the greater number of people. At their landing they heard good tidings of the returne of the 2. men, and that

»7» This very accurately defcribes the characleriftics of the country for feveral miles around Great South Pond as a center, four or five miles S. of Plymouth Rock.

*73 Pinnacle Hill, juft W. of South Pond?

»74 See note 209.

»75 They had intended this to be the date of their firft fervice on fhore; but the alarm of this fire, and the fear on board ftrip that it was due to the favages, prevented, and poltponed it until the next Sabbath.

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the houfe was fiered occafionally*7* by a fparke that flew into the thatch, which inftantly burnt it all vp, but the roofe flood and little hurt;V7 the mod loffe was Maifter Carvers and William Bradfords> who then lay ficke in bed, and if they had not rifen with good fpeede, had been blowne vp with powder: but through Gods mercy they had no harme, the houfe was as full of beds as they could lie one by another, and their Muskets charged, but bleffed be God there was no harme done.

Munday the 15. day, it rayned much all day, that they on fliip-boord could not goe on fliore, nor they on fhore doe any labour but were all wet

Tuefday, wednefday, thurfday, were very faire Sunfhinie dayes, as if it had beene in Aprill, and our people fo many as were in health wrought chearefully.

The 19. day,278 we refolved to make a Shed, to put our common provifion in, of which fome were alreadie fet on fliore, but at noone it rayned, that we could not worke. This day in the evening, Iohn Goodman went abroad to vfe his lame feete, that were pittifully ill with the cold he had got, having a little Spannell with him, a little way from the Plantation, two great Wolues ran after the Dog, the Dog ran to him and betwixt his leggs for fuccour, he had nothing in his hand but tooke vp a fticke, and threw at one of them and hit him, and they prefently ran both

»7*" Cafually, accidentally."—[Bat- work of the roo£ fupporting the Ay.] thatch.

*77 That is, the rafters and frame- *7* Friday, JJ Jan., i6~

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away, but came againe, he got a paile bord*79 in his hand, and they fat both on their tayles, grinning at him, a good while, and went their way, and left him. Saturday 20. we made vp our Shed for our common goods.

Sunday the 21. we kept our meeting on Land.a8°

Munday the 22. was a faire day, we wrought on our houfes, and in the after-noone carried vp our hogsheads of meale to our common ftore-houfe [30].

The reft of the weeke we followed our bufineffe likewife.

Munday the 29.a81 in the morning cold froft and fleete, but after reafonable fayre; both the long Boate and the Shallop brought our common goods on fhore.

Tuefday and wednefday 30. and 31, of January, cold frofty weather and fleete, that we could not worke: in the morning the Mafter and others faw two Savages, that had beene on the Hand nere our Ship, what they came for wee could not tell, they were going*'fo farre backe againe before they were defcried, that we could not fpeake with them.

*79 " Pale-board, — fet up for partitions in gardens, grounds &c, a pile or ftake, &c." — [Baiiey.]

**> Sabbath, " Jan.,

i6£; the date

of the firft Sabbath-keeping in the common houfe on fhore. All that Prince implies by his ftatement [N. £. Chron., pt i. 80] is, that on Sabbath, £ j5j£, thofe who were on more

kept Sabbath there, without joining the majority in their fervice in the fhip. Now, as the majority were on fhore, Elder Brewfter undoubtedly held their fervice there for the firft time.

*«« Tftfc, dies Rofe, the wife of Captain Standifh. — [Prince, N. E. Chron.y pt. ii. 97.]

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Sunday the 4. of February^ was very wett and rainie, with the greateft gufts of winde that ever we had fince wee came forth, that though we rid in a very good harbour, yet we were in danger, becaufe our Ship was light, the goods taken out, and flie vnballafed; and it caufed much daubing of our houfes to fall downe.a8a

Fryday the 9. (till the cold weather continued, that wee could doe little worke. That after-noone our little houfe for our ficke people'83 was fet on fire by a fparke that kindled in the roofe, but no great harme was done. That evening the matter284 going afhore, killed fiue Geefe, which he friendly diftributed among the ficke people; he found alfo a good Deere killed, the Savages had cut off the homes, and a Wolfe was eating of him, how he came there we could not conceiue.

Friday the 16. day, was a faire day, but the northerly wind continued, which continued the froft, this day afternoone one of our people being a fouling, and having taken a ftand by a creeke fide in the Reeds, about a myle and an halfe from our Plantation, there came by him twelue Indians, marching towards our Plantation, & in the woods he heard the noyfe of many more, he lay clofe till they were paffed, and then with what fpeed he

8 The cracks between the logs of had been finiftied, they had com

)»• *'\ their houfes were "daubed" with clay me need work on other fhelters, of

mortar, which the driving ftorm foft- which one, it feems, had been appro

ened and diflodged. priated as a hofpital.

*33 As foon as the common houfe **4 Capt Jones, of the Mayflower.

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could he went home & gaue the Alarm, fo the people abroad in the woods returned & armed themfelues, but faw none of them, onely toward the euening they made a great fire, about the place where they were firft difcovered: Captaine Miles Standijh, and Francis Cooke** being at worke in the Woods, comming home, left their [31] tooles behind them, but before they returned, their tooles were taken away by the Savages. This comming of the Savages gaue vs occafion to keepe more ftri<5t watch, and to make our peeces and furniture readie, which by the moyfture and rayne were out of temper.

Saturday the 17 day, in the morning we called a meeting for the eftablifliing of military Orders amongft our felues, and we chofe Miles Standijh our Captaine, and gaue him authoritie of command in affayres: and as we

»*5 Francis Cooke (note 27, No. 17) brought with him only his fon John. His wife Either, and children Jacob, Jane, and

Either, followed in the Ann, in 1623; in 1626, he had Mary. Winflow, in his HyPocrifie Unmajked [96], fays that " the wife of Francis Cooke, being a Walloone, holds communion with the church at Plymouth as (he came from the French to this day, by vertue of communion of churches." He was taxed 18*., *%$\ 1633; only 9*. the following year; *0 Oct., 1634, was appointed one of the layersout of highways for Plymouth; is in the lift of freemen, J March, 163*; *, May, 1627, was one of a jury "to let

forth the heigh waves;" 'a Jan., 163^ was on a jury for trial of Edward Shaw and Mark Mendloue for " felony " of 15s. from William Corvannell; often ferved on juries, committees, and the " Grand Inqueft;" was called by Bradford, in 1650, "a very olde man, and hath feene his childrens children have children;" was one of the firft purchafers of Dartmouth, 1652, and Middleborough, 1662; died 1 April, 1663. His wife furvived him. — [Savage's Gen. Dift., i. 445; Plym. Col. Rec.y i. 3,8, 10, 28, 31, 46, &c; ii. 7, 34,40, 53, &c; N. E. Hift. and Gen. Reg.y iii. 334; Bradford, Hift. Plym. Plant., 453]

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were in confultation here abouts, two Savages prefented themfelues vpon the top of an hill,286 over againft our Plantation, about a quarter of a myle and lefle, and made fignes vnto vs to come vnto them; we likewife made fignes vnto them to come to vs, whereupon we armed our felues, and flood readie, and fent two over the brooke'87 towards

them, to wit, Captaine Standifh and Steven Hopkins, who went towards them, onely one of them had a Musket, which they layd downe on the ground in their fight, in figne of peace, and to parley with them, but the Savages would not tarry their comming: a noyfe of a great many more was heard behind the hill, but no more came in fight. This caufed vs to plant our great Ordinances in places mod convenient. %

Wednefday the 21. of February, the matter came on fhore with many of his Saylers, and brought with him one of the great Peeces, called a Minion?™ and helped vs to draw it vp the hill, with another Peece that lay on fhore, and mounted them, and a faller'89 and two

*. 3

/

ffi

,\u flU&Ui**- *> tuk , tot*. t#i turn. ; /t« nt KT\ asHt

X4f

U t*ri

t

»86 Uy uniform tradition, this was Watfon's Hill, or Strawberry Hill, about one hundred rods a little W. of S. of their plantation. The Indian name is faid to have been Cantaugcanteefl. — \pL Afa/s. Hifl. Coll., iii. 177.]

**7 Town Brook, which (kirted their fettlement on the fouth, and the mouth of which harbored their fhallop.

» There were two fizes of minions, — one of 3j-inch bore and 8 feet in ii

length, carrying a ball weighing 3 lbs. 12 oz.; the fmaller, of 3-inch bore, and 7 feet long. The firfl weighed about i.000 lbs., and the fecond about 800 lbs.—-[Bailey.]

**9 Saker, a fort of great gun, of which there are three fizes; (i) 4-inch bore, and 10 feet long; (2) 3-inch bore, and 9 feet long; (3) 3 J-inch bore, and 8 feet long. — [Bai/ey.] Sa//er is obvioufly a mifprint

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bafes;*90 he brought with him a very fat Goofe to eate with vs, and we had a fat Crane, and a Mallerd, and a dry'd neats-tongue, and fo wee were kindly and friendly together.*91

Saturday the third of March, the winde was South, the morning miftie, but towards noone warme and fayre weather; the Birds fang in the Woods mod pleafantly; at one of the Clocke it thundred, which was the firft wee heard in that Countrey, it was ftrong and great claps, but fhort, but after an houre it rayned very fadly till midnight.

Wednefday the feaventh of March, the wind was full Eaft, [32] cold, but faire, that day Matter Carver with fiue other went to the great Ponds,*9* which feeme to be excellent fifliing-places; all the way they went they found it exceedingly beaten and haunted with Deere, but they faw none; amongft other foule, they faw one a milke white foule, with a very blacke head: ■* this day fome garden feeds

were fowen. ' Puu+u fa imd tew Fryday, the 16. a fayre warme day towards; *H this morn

+&* .' *p"Bafe (with gunners), the (mailed »9» Billington Sea, or, poflibly, Great

piece of ordnance, 4 Foot and a half South Pond and its fiftcrhood of lakes,

long, the Diameter at the bore 1 Inch *>3 A fpecies of goofe anfwers well

1 Quarter; it weighs 200 Pounds, to this defcription.

carries a ball 1 Inch i-8th Diameter, *m A comparifon with the fimilar

and 5 or6 Ounces Weight."—[Bailey.] phrafe, thirteen lines above, renders

»9» "Feb. 21. Die Mr. Williatn probable here the omiflion of the word

White, Mr. William Mullitis, with 2 " noone ;" though " towards " has an

more. And the 25th Dies Mary, the old fenfe of " nearly," " a little lefs

' wife ofMr. I/aac Allerlon."—[Prince, than," which might make fenfe if no

M E. Ckron.y pt ii. 98.] ellipfis is inferred.

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ing we determined to conclude of the military Orders, which we had began to confider of before, but were interrupted by the Savages, as we mentioned formerly; and whilft we were bufied here about, we were interrupted againe, for there prefented himfelf a Savage?1 which caufed an Alarm, he very boldly came all alone and along the houfes ftraight to the Randevous, where we intercepted him, not fuffering him to goe in, as vndoubtedly he would, out of his boldneffe, hee faluted vs in Englifh, and bad vs well-come, for he had learned fome broken Englifh amongft the Englifh men that came to fifh at Monchiggon,** and knew by name the mod of the Captaines, Commanders, & Maflers, that vfually come,

*9$ Samo/et (Samefei, Summufet, Sommerfet, Summerfaut) was a native of Pemaquid, and chief and original proprietor of what is now the town of Briftol, Me. He feems to have gone on board of Capt. Dermer's (hip at Monhegan, when he was on his way to thofe mores, with Squanto, on his pacific million, i6J£; and to have been landed by Dermer on Cape Cod, when he redeemed there the (hipwrecked Frenchmen from their favage captors (fee note 69). This was only fix months before the Mayflower arrived; and the Pemaquid chief (till lingered among his new friends, — delayed by that overruling Providence which needed him for the ufe of interpreter, to which he was now put He was at "Capmanwagen" (Southport, Me.) when Levett

was there, two years later; ** July, 1625, with Unnongoit, he executed the firft deed ever made by an Indian to a white man, to John Brown of New Harbor ; July, 1653, he fold other land to William Parnall, Thomas Way, and William England, affixing (in a hand tremulous with age) his mark, in the form of a bow and arrow. He was dead before Philip's. War. — [Thornton's "Ancient Pemaquid," Me. Hift. Coll., v. 186-193; SewalTs Ancient Dominions of Me., 102.]

9 Monhegan I Hand (Monchiggon, Monhiggon, and Morattiggon were, clearly, forms of the fame name) lies nine miles foutherly of George's I Hands, Ave leagues eaft fouth-eafterly of Townfend, and three leagues weftwardly of Metinic, on the coaft of

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.«.*-fo. '*■».

he was a man free in fpeech, fa farre as he could expreffe his minde, and of a feemely carriage, we queftioned him of many things, he was the firft Savage we could meete withall; he fayd he was not of thefe parts, but of Morattiggon% and one of the Sagamores or Lords thereof, and had beene 8. moneths in thefe parts, it lying hence a \li2ik'*M> * ******* dayes fayle with a great wind, and fiue dayes by land; A^^^*^*71^- -, he difcourfed of the whole Country, and of every ProvjbiAjUrfiL .t^^uK. yu~i>», ince, and of their Sagamores, and their number of men, ^^U ^- U» ' r V and ftrength; the wind beginning to rife a little, we caft

a horfemans coat about him, for he was ftarke naked, onely a leather about his waft, with a fringe about a fpan long, or little more; he had a bow & 2 arrowes, the one headed, and the other vnheaded; he was a tall ftraight man, the haire of his head blacke, long behind, onely fhort before, none on his face at all; he asked fome beere, but we gaue him ftrong water, and bisket, and butter, and cheefe, & pudding, and a peece of a mallerd, all which he liked well, and had bin acquainted with fuch amongft the Englifh; he told vs the [33] place where we now Hue, is called, Patuxet?*1 and that about foure

Maine. It contains more than one Pawtucket, i. e. uat the little falls."

thoufand acres of good land, with a Petuhqui, or Puttukque, Agnifying

bold fhore.—[Williamfon's Hi/l.Me., "round," is a common element in

i. 61.] Indian names, as a preface of " rock,"

*n Patuxet (elfewhere as Savage "hill," "lake," &c. Probably Pa

[Appendix to Winthrop, ii. 478] gives tuxet mould be refolved into Puttukq

it, Patackofi [Patackofet ?]) is prob- fomething,—it is difficult to fay what,

ably of different compofition from John Smith (1616) gives Accomack as

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yeares agoe, all the Inhabitants dyed of an extraordinary plague,198 and there is neither man, woman, nor childe remaining, as indeed we haue found none, fo as there is none to hinder our poffeflion, or to lay claime vnto it; all the after-noone we fpent in communication with him, we would gladly haue beene rid of him at night, but he was not willing to goe this night, then we thought to carry him on fhip-boord, wherewith he was well content, and went into the

Shallop, but the winde was high and water fcant, that it could not returne backe: we lodged him that night at Steven Hopkins houfe,*99 and watched him; the next day he went away backe to the Mafafoits?" from whence he fayd he came, who are our next bordering neighbours: they are fixtie ftrong, as he fayth;

the Indian name of Plymouth [3 Afafs. Hift. Coll., vi. 119]. This name was probably given to it by the Maflachufetts, or other northern tribes, to whom Plymouth and the Cape would be " land beyond," or " on the other fide of the bay." Cotton, who learned what little Indian he knew, at Plymouth, gives Ompa&m as the Indian name [3 Afafs. Hift. Coll., ii. 232]. This was, moil likely, of later origih, —given to the place as the capital, or feat of government, of the colony; fignifying, probably, " the place of tribute," or "of acknowledging fovereignty."

9 See Capt. Dermer's ftatement, in Purchas [iv. 1778]; Capt Smith's ftatement [Advertifements for the

unexperienced, &c, 9]; Higginfon's New-Englands Plantation [Force, 1., xii. 12]; Morton's New Englifh Canaan [Force, 11., v. 18]; Johnfon's Wonder-working Providence [2 Afafs. Hift. Coll., ii. 66] ; Gookin's Hiftorical Colleclions [1 Afafs. Hift. Coll., \. 122, 148]; the Great Patent of New England [Brigham's Compacl, &c.,'3], and Hutchinfon [i. 38].

»99 This makes it probable that they had already completed fome of their cottages, and that families had moved into them.

3°° This name was here naturally given to the Wampanoags, as being Mafiafoit's men, unlets, as Dr. Young fuppofes, the Englifh did not quite comprehend Samofet's broken Englifh.

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the Naujttes*1 are as neere South-eaft of them, and are a hundred ftrong, and thofe were they of whom our people were encountred, as we before related. They are much incenfed and provoked againft the Englifh, and about eyght moneths agoe flew three Englifli men, and two more hardly efcaped by flight to Monhiggon; they were Sir Ferdinando Gorge his men,*" as this Savage told vs, as he did likewife of the Huggerie, that is, Fight™ that our difcoverers had with the Naufites, & of our tooles that were taken out of the woods,304 which we willed him fhould be brought againe, otherwife, we would right our felues. Thefe people are ill affe<5led towards the Englifli, by reafon of one Hunt?"1 a matter of a (hip, who deceived the people, and got them vnder colour of truking with

a©" Thofe centering about Naufet, or Eaftham ; the Cape Indians.

y» See Belknap's American Biography [i. 346-393]; Gorge's Brief Narration [3 Afafs. Hifl. Co//., vi. 45-93], and Prince, N. E. Chron. [pt 1.67], for accounts of this fight of the Indians with Capt. Dermer and his men.

y>3 To hugger (Provincial Englifh), to lie in ambufh, &c. — [Webfter\ The reference is to "the firft encountter" [p. 52].

304 See p. 80.*

305 Thomas Hunt was mafter of the fhip in Capt Smith's company, in 1614, that "flayed to fit her felfe for Spaine with the dry fifh which was fold at Afaligo at forty Rialls the Quin

tall;" but, as Smith fays, to prevent a plantation here, and keep "this abounding Countrey " for himfelf and fome few merchants, he "betraied foure and twenty of thofe poore Saluages aboord his fhip, and moil difhonefIly and inhumanely for their kind vfage of me [Smith] and all our men, caried them with him to Afaligo, and there for a little priuate gaine fold thofe filly Saluages for Rials of eight; but this vilde a& kept him ever after from any more imploiment to thofe parts." — [General/ Hiflorie, 204.] The Brief Reiation of the Prefident and Council for New England, ftates that the friars, when it was found whence thefe flaves were come, took fome of them, and inftrulted them in

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them, twentie out of this very place where we inhabite,

and feaven men from the Naufites^ and carried them

away, and fold them for flaues, like a wretched man (for /' u ' ft ~

20. pound a man) that cares not what mifchiefe he doth

for his profit. '

Saturday in the morning we difmiffed the Salvage, and gaue him a knife, a bracelet, and a ring; he promifed within a night or two to come againe, and to bring with him fome of the Maffdfoyts our neighbours, with fuch Beuers skins as they had to trucke with vs. [34]

Saturday and Sunday306 reafonable fayre dayes. On this day307 came againe the Savage, and brought with him fiue other tall proper men, they had every man a Deeres skin on him, and the principall of them had a wild Cats skin, or fuch like on the one arme; they had mod of them long hofen vp to their groynes, clofe made; and aboue their groynes to their waft another leather, they were altogether like the Tr^- troufes;308 they are of

the Chriftian faith. Some got over to that comes within their fhooes, like a

England, and proved of great fervice ftirrop ftockinge, and is faftned above

to Gorges and others. — [Afa/s. Hift. at their belt, which is about their

Coll., xix. 6 ; xxvi. 58, 61, 132.] middell. . . . Thofe garments they

y* Saturday, '* Sunday, '| March, allwayes put on when they goe a hunt

1621. inge to keepe their flcinnes from the

307 That is, as the narrative (hows, brufh ol the Shrubbs, and when they

on Sunday. - have their Apparrell one, they look

y* " They make (hooes of Deeres like Irifh in their troufes, the Stock

fkinnes, very handfomly and commo- ings join fo to their breeches."—[Mor

dious, and of fuch deeres flcinnes as ton's New Englijh Canaan, Force,

they drefs bare, they make ftockinges, 11., v. 22.]

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complexion like our Englifh Gipfeys, no haire or very little on their faces, on their heads long haire to their fhoulders, onely cut before fome truffed vp before with a feather, broad wife, like a fanne, another a fox tayle hanging out: thefe left (according to our charge giuen him before) their Bowes and Arrowes a quarter of a myle from our Towne, we gaue them entertaynement as we , thought was fitting them, they did eate liberally of our Englifh victuals, they made femblance vnto vs of friendfhip and amitie; they fong & danced after their maner like Anticks;309 they brought with them in a thing like a Bow-cafe (which the principall of them had about his waft) a little of their Corne pownded to Powder, which t fo f9f put to a little water they eate;3,° he had a little Tobacco

' [%a Hrrt^"* "^^ in a bag, but none of them drunke3" but when he lifted,

ifo*»M*L ^ fome of them had their faces paynted black, from the

forehead to the chin, foure or fiue fingers broad; others after other fafliions, as they liked; they brought three or

309 ilAntick, a Buffoon."—[Bailey,'] and travel! at an koures warning.

310 «N6kehick, parch'd meal, which With a fpoonfull of this meale, and a is a readie very wholefome food, which fpoonfull of water from the Brooke, they eate with a little water, hot or have I made many a good dinner and cold ; I have travelled with neere 200 fupper."—[Roger Williams, R.-I.Hifl. of them at once, neere 100 miles Coll., i. 33.]

through the woods, every man carry- 3*» "Anthony Thacher and George

ing a little Bafket of this at his back, Sole were chofen a comittee to draw

and fometimes in a hollow Leather vp an order concerning diforderly

Girdle about his middle, fufficient for drinking of tobaccb."—\Plym. Col.

a man for three or four daies. With Rec, ii. 108.] " Drinking" tobacco

this readie provifion, and their Bow was then the common term for fmok

and Arrowes, are they readie for War ing it.

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foure skins, but we would not trucke with them at all that day, but wifhed them to bring more, and we would trucke A -•' A ,ff for all, which they promifed within a night or two, and " M «+• 7«**d*.£

would leaue thefe behind them, though we were not willing they fliould, and they brought vs all our tooles againe which were taken in the Woods, in our mens abfence, fo becaufe of the day we difmiffed them fo foone as we could. But Santofet our firft acquaintance, eyther was ficke, or fayned himfelfe fo, and would not goe with them, and flayed with vs till Wednefday morning:3" Then we fent him to them, to know the reafon they came not according to their words, and we gaue him an hat, a payre of ftockings and fliooes, a fliirt, and a peece of cloth to tie about his waft. [35]

The Sabboth day, when we fent them from vs, wee gaue every one of them fome trifles, efpecially, the principall of them, we carried them along with our Armes to the place where they left their Bowes and Arrowes, whereat they were amazed, and two of them began to flinke away, but that the other called them, when they tooke their Arrowes, we bad them farewell, and they were glad, and fo with many thankes giuen vs they departed, with promife they would come againe.

Munday and tuefday proved fayre dayes, we digged our grounds, and fowed our garden feeds.

Wednefday a fine warme day, we fent away SamofeL

31a Wednefday, *J March, 1621.

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That day we had againe a meeting, to conclude of lawes and orders for our felues, and to confirme thofe Military Orders that were formerly propounded, and twife broken off by the Savages comming, but fo we were againe the third time, for after we had beene an houre together, on the top of the hill over againft vs3I3 two or three Savages prefented themfelues, that made femblance of daring vs, as we thought, fo Captaine Standijh with another, with their Muskets went over to them, with two of the matters mates that follows them without Armes, having two Muskets with them, they whetted and rubbed their Arrowes and Strings, and made fhew of defiance, but when our men drew nere them, they ranne away. Thus we were againe interrupted by them; this day with much adoe we got our Carpenter that had beene long ficke of the fcurvey, to fit our Shallop, to fetch all from aboord.314

Thurfday the 22. of March, was a very feyre warme day. About noone we met againe about our publique bufineffe, but we had fcarce beene an houre together, but Santofet came againe, and Squanto™ the onely natiue of

3*3 See note 285. ried to England by Capt. George Way

3»4 This indicates the time when mouth in 1605. Whether he came

the whole company was transferred back and was taken off again by Hunt,

from the fhip to the more, and their or whether there is fome confufion in

colonizing became complete. the narrative, is not certain. He was

3»5 Squanto (Squantum, Tifquan- of great fervice to the colony, though

turn, Tafquantum, &c.) was clearly ambitious and meddlefome. He died

one of five Indians who had been car- in November, 1622; his lad requeft

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IN AMERICA

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Pattixaty where we now inhabite, who was one of the twentie Captiues that by Hunt were carried away, and had beene in England & dwelt in Cornehill with mafter John Slanie** a Marchant, and could fpeake a little EngHfh, with three others, and they brought with them fome few skinnes to trucke, and fome red Her- [36] rings newly taken and dryed, but not falted, and fignified vnto vs, that their great Sagamore Mafafoyt*1 was hard by, with Quadequina his brother, and all their men. They could not well expreffe in Englifh what they would, but after an houre the King came to the top of an hill over againft vs, and had in his trayne fixtie men, that wee could well behold them, and they vs: we were not willing to

being that Gov. Bradford would pray that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven. Squant am (contraded from mufquantam, "he is angry," " he is bloody-minded") was the

name of an Indian god. — [Drake's Ind. Diog. 69, 78, 79; Trumbull, Ms. Utter.}

316 " The worfliippeful John Slany, of London, merchant," was Treafurer of the Newfoundland Company.—[Purchasy iv. 1876.]

3*7 Majfa/oit (Mejfa/oyt, Maffafoyet, IVoofameqnin, Uffamequin, AJhumequiny Ofame&in, &c, &c.) was fachem of the WampanoagS) and had his principal refidence at Sowams (now Warren, R. I.), in Pokanoket. We know nothing of him previous to this date, unlefs he were one of the " two kings" mentioned by Capt. Dermer,

in Purchas. In 1623 he was very tick; and Window vitited him and prefer ibed for him, and he recovered, and attributed his life to this attention. He fold much land to the Englifh at various times, and always fcrupuloufly, and mod honorably, kept his treaty engagements with them. He feems to have died in the latter part of 1661, or the former part of 1662. He left two fons,—Alexander, whofe reign was but of a few months; and Philip, famous in the bloody hiftory of 1675-6. He had two brothers, — Akkompoin (Unkompoen), whom " some briflc Bridgwater Lads " killed in 1676; and a younger one, Quadequina, who accompanied Majfa/oit at this time to Plymouth.—[Drake's Book of Indians, 81-92; Church's Entertaining Pajfages, 38, &c]

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^.~-5' /*■ '* fend our governour to them, and they vnwilling to come

.^^^ ^*f t0 vs> f0 Squanto went againe vnto him, who brought word that wee fhould fend one to parley with him,

which we did, which was Edward Winjloe, to know his mind, and to fignifie the mind and will of our governour, which was to haue trading and peace with him. We fent to the King a payre of Kniues, and a Copper Chayne, with a Iewell at it To Quadequina we fent likewife a Knife and a Iewell to hang in his eare, and withall a Pot of ftrong water, a good quantitie of Bisket, and fome butter, which were all willingly accepted: our Meffenger made a fpeech vnto him, that King Iames faluted him with words of loue and Peace, and did accept of him as his Friend and Alie, and that our Governour defired to fee him and to trucke with him, and to confirme a Peace with him, as his next neighbour: he liked well of the fpeech and heard it attentiuely, though the Interpreters did not well expreffe it; after he had eaten and drunke himfelfe, and giuen the reft to his company, he looked vpon our meffengers fword and armour which he had on, with intimation of his defire to buy it, but on the other fide, our meffenger (hewed his vnwillingnes to part with it: In the end he left him in the cuftodie of Quadequina his brother, and came over the brooke, and fome twentie men following him, leaving all their Bowes and Arrowes behind them. We kept fix or feaven as hoftages for our meffenger; Captaine Standijh and mafter William

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fon*x% met the King at the brooke, with halfe a dozen Musketiers, they faluted him and he them, fo one going over, the one on the one fide, and the other on the other, conduced him to an houfe then in building, where we placed a greene Rugge, and three or foure Ciilhions, then inftantly came our [37] Governour with Drumme and Trumpet after him, and fome few Musketiers. After falutations, our Governour kifTmg his hand, the King kifled him, and fo they

fat downe. The Governour called for fome ftrong water, and drunke to him, and he drunke a great draught that made him fweate all the while after, he called for a little frefli meate, which the King did eate willingly, and did giue his followers. Then they treated of Peace, which was;

1. That neyther he nor any of his fhould iniure or doe The agree

r menu of

hurt to any of our people.

2. And if any of his did hurt to any of ouw, he fhould fend the offender, that we might punifli him. foyt

3. That if any of our Tooles were taken away when our people were at worke, he fhould caufe them to be reflored, and if ours did any harme to any of his, wee would doe the like to them.

3*8 No man of this name was of the with the title here given, had he been

party. There was, indeed, a Thomas now able to go on fuch fervice (which . - - * 1. / L /f*

Williams (note 27, No. 30), but he is very doubtful). It is more likely,

died early in the general sicknefs as Dr. Young fuggefts, that the Ms.

[Bradford, Hi/i. Plym. Plant, 454]; read "Mailer Allerton," and was mif

and he would not have been honored apprehended and mifprinted into this.

peace betweene vs and Mafla

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4. If any did vniuftly warre againft him, we would ayde him; If any did warre againft vs, he fhould ayde vs.

5. He fhould fend to his neighbour Confederates, to certifie them of this, that they might not wrong vs, but might be likewife comprifed in the conditions of Peace.

6. That when their men came to vs, they fhould leaue their Bowes and Arrowes behind them, as wee fhould doe our Peeces when we came to them.

Laftly, that doing thus, King Iames would efteeme of him as his friend and Alie:3*9 all which the King feemed to like well, and it was applauded of his followers, all the while he fat by the Governour he trembled for feare ; In his perfon he is a very luftie man, in his beft yeares, an able body, graue of countenance, and fpare of fpeech: In his Attyre little or nothing differing from the reft of his followers, only in a great Chaine of white bone Beades about his necke, and at it behinde his necke, hangs a little bagg of Tobacco, which he dranke and gaue vs to drinke;3ao his face was paynted with a fad red like murry,3" and oyled both head and face, that hee looked greafily: All his followers likewife, were in their faces, in part or in whole painted, fome blacke, fome [38] red,

3»9 This "auncient league & con- 3*> See note 310.

federacy" was formally ratified and 3*» A "sad" red was a deep red

renewed, on application of Maflafoit ("of a deep color." [Bailey]). "Mur

and his oldeft fon, by the Plymouth rey, is in Latin called color fanguineus,

court,a* Qct*» '^39-—[Morton's N.E. is accounted a princely color." [Bat

Memorial, IJ2; Plytn. Col. Rec, i. ley.] "A dark red color, from Lat.

133.] morum, mulberry."—\Webfter^\

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fome yellow, and fome white, fome with croffes, and other Antick3" workes, fome had skins on them, and fome naked, all flrong, tall, all men in appearance: fo after all was done, the Governour conduced him to the Brooke, and there they embraced each other and he departed: we diligently keeping our hoftages, wee expected bur meffengers comming, but anon \yord was brought vs, that Quaddequina was comming, and our meffenger was flayed till his returne, who prefently came and a troupe with him, fo likewife wee entertained him, and convayed him to the place prepared; he was very fearefull of our peeces, and made fignes of diflike, that they fliould be carried away, whereupon Commandement was given, they fhould be layd away. He was a very proper tall young man, of a very modeft and

feemely countenance, and he did kindely like of our entertainement, fo we convayed him likewife as wee did the King, but diuers of their people flayed dill, when hee was returned, then they difmiffed our meffenger. Two of his people would haue flayed all night, but wee would not fuffer it: one thing I forgot, the King had in his bofome hanging in a firing, a great long knife; hee marveiled much at our Trumpet, and fome of his men would found it as well as they could, Satnofet and Squanto, they flayed al night with vs, and the King and al his men lay all night in the woods, not aboue halfe an Englifh myle from vs, and all their wiues and women

3" See note 308^

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with them, they fayd that within 8. or 9. dayes, they would come and fet corne on the other fide of the Brooke, and dwell there all Summer, which is hard by vs; That night we kept good watch, but there was no appearance of danger; the next morning3*3 divers of their people came over to vs, hoping to get feme vi<5tuales as wee imagined, fom of them told vs the King would haue fome of vs come fee him; Captaine Standijh and Ifaac Alderton™ went venteroufly, who were welcommed of him after their manner: he gaue them three or foure ground Nuts,3*3 and fome Tobacco. Wee

cannot yet conceiue, but that he is willing to haue peace with vs, for they haue feene our people fometimes alone two or three in [39] the woods at worke and fowling, when as they offered them no harme as they might eafily haue done, and efpecially becaufe hee hath a potent Adverfary the Narowhiganfeis?* that are at warre with him, againft

m Friday***^

3*4 Isaac Allerton (note 27, No. 5) "of London," * Nov., 1611, married, in Leyden, Mary Norris of Newbury; 1 Feb., 16J* was admitted to citizenfhip in Leyden; ^ Nov., 1615, guaranteed Digory Prieft on his admiflion to the fame privilege; j£ May, 1618, was witnefs at the firft marriage of Edward Window, to Elizabeth Barker ; * Oct, 1619, was witnefs at the marriage of Roger Wilkin to Eliz. Barrow ? was one of the four figners of the letter from Leyden to Carver and Cufhman, f June, 1620; was at

one time the richeft man of the colony ; was Affiftant, 1621, and fole officer for three years under the government: his wife dying foon after landing, he married Fear Brewfter, daughter of Elder William; (he dying,

1633, he married again, Joanna ?

He parted his later years at New Haven, and died there, 1659, infolvent. — [Savage's Gen. Did., i. 38; Leyden Af/s. Rec] %. <jf htM fa. Ktr»\ >V3rJ«

3»s Apios tuberofat.— {Coll. Amer. Antiq. Soc., iv. 180.]

326 Narraganfetts, as they were commonly ftyled.

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whom hee thinks wee may be fome ftrength to him, for our peeces are terrible vnto them; this morning, they ftayed till ten or eleuen of the Clocke, and our Governour bid them fend the Kings kettle, and filled it full of peafe, which pleafed them well, and fo they went their way.

Fryday was a very faire day, Samofet and Squanto dill remained with vs, Squanto went at noone to fifh for Eeles,3*7 at night he came home with as many as he could well lift in one hand, which our people were glad of, they were fat & fweet, he trod them out with his feete, and fo caught them with his hands without any other Inftrument,

This day we proceeded on with our common bufineffe,

from which we had been fo often hindred by the Salvages

comming, and concluded both of Military orders,

and of fome Lawes and Orders as wee thought be

hoofefull for our prefent eftate, and condition,

and did likewife choofe our Governour for

this yeare, which was Mailer John

Carver1* a man well approo- .

ved amongft vs. [40]

3*7 Doubtlefs at Eel River, of which Thacher says "it is appropriately called Eel River, from the abundance of Eels which it yields to the fupport of the induftrious poor. Perhaps it

will not be extravagant to fay that about 150 barrels are annually taken there." — \Hift. Ptym., 322.]

3*8 See notes 27 (No. 1), 28, and 151; also Prince [N. E. Chron^ pt. ii. 103.]

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98 [40

A

IOVRNEY TO VACKjiKOKJKt

The Habitation of the Great King

MASSASOTT.

As alfo our Meffage, the

An/were and intertaine

ment wee had of

H I M.

iT feemed good to the Company for many |x confederations to fend fome amongft them to Maffafoyt% the greatest Commander amongft the Savages, bordering about vs; partly to know where to find them, if occafion ferved, as alfo to fee their ftrength, difcover the Country, prevent abufes in their diforderly comming vnto vs, make fatisfa&ion for fome conceived jniuries to be done on our parts, and to continue the league of Peace and Friendfhip betweene them and vs. For thefe, and the like ends, it pleafed the Governour to make choice of Steven Hopkinsy & Edward Winfloe™ to goe vnto him, and having a fit opportunitie, by reafon of a Savage, called TifquantumlVi (that could fpeake Englifh) comming

3*9 Edward Window was almoft feveral verbal correfpondences with neceflarily the author of this part of his avowed works, which indorfe the

fuppofition.

.us ?U£-^ **wU>*dr iw'i/t ft\ the Relation^ as it was written by a " ------- V*/l4*{* fZ^l Par^cJPant in tne journey. There are

+*4

330 See note 315.

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vnto vs; with all expedition provided a Horfe-mans coat, of red Cotton, and laced with a flight lace for a prefent, that both they and their meffage might be the more acceptable amongft them. The Meffage was as followeth; That forafmuch as his fubie6ls came often and without feare, vpon all occafions amongft vs, fo wee were now come vnto him, and in witneffe of the loue and good will the Englifh beare vnto him, the Governour hath fent him a coat, defiring that the Peace and Ami tie that was [41] betweene them and vs might be continued, not that we feared them, but becaufe we intended not to iniure any, defiring to Hue peaceably: and as with all men, fo efpecially with them our neereft neighbours. But whereas his people came very often, and very many together vnto vs, bringing for the mod part their wiues and children with them, they were well come; yet we being but ftrangers as yet at Patuxet?* alias' New Plimmoth, and not knowing how our Corne might profper, we could no longer giue them fuch entertainment as we had done, and as we defired ftill to doe: yet if he would be pleafed to come himfelfe, or any fpeciall friend of his defired to fee vs, comming from him they fhould be wellcome; and to the end wee might know them from others, our Governour had fent him a copper Chayne, defiring if any Meffenger fhould come from him to vs, we might know him by bringing it with him, and hearken and giue

33* See note 296.

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credite to his Meffage accordingly. Alfo requefting him

that fuch as haue skins,33* Ihould bring them to vs, and

that he would hinder the multitude from opprefling vs

tf^'f "/ with them. And whereas at our firft arrivall at Path

Ma t*4bi /av Pit-to* /sf 0l*».JL ^

wu' v.> /X. met133 (called by vs Cape Cod) we found there Corne

buried in the ground, and finding no inhabitants but fome graues of dead new buryed, tooke the Corne, refolving if ever we could heare of any that had right thereunto, to make fatisfa&ion to the full for it, yet fince we vnderftand the owners thereof were fled for feare of vs, our defire was either to pay them with the like quantitie of corne, Englifh meale, or any other Commodities we had to pleafure them withall; requefting him that fome H one of his men might fignifie fo much vnto them, and

* fU «wt|'#n>i^/3v: * wee would content him for his paines.*" And laft of all, our Gouernour requefted one favour of him, which was, that he would exchange fome of their Corne334 for feede with us, that we might make tryall which

beft agreed with the foyle where we Hue. ~.i. ft. With thefe prefents and meffage we fet forward the

1 '**~*f0 ^ '' ' •' tenth Iune,335 about 9. a clocke in the Morning, our guide

333 Beaver and other (kins for the ent fpecies from that ufually raifed in

a . furriers. Smith fays that, in 1614, Maffachufetts, yielding a more deli

• *+^ ' ^ *% ranging the coaft in a fmall boat, he cate and whiter meal.

^U^' "m£ Z^TyL "&ot>for trifles'eleven hundred Bever 33S ~ June> 1621, was the Sabbath,

<Lb vXJo*r h. flcins, befide Otters and Martins."— fo that there murt be fome miftake in

j, \,a, ■ ** [Advertifements. 12.] this date, as the Pilgrims would never

/T. t % 333 Pamet. See note 74. have commenced fuch a journey on

T^iii 'U*"~"lV\ 334 Probably what is now called that day. Bradford [//#?. Plym.

^« , W t, u^r>v i,.& :it Rhode-Ifland corn, which is a differ- Plant, 102] fays this expedition ftart

ih»<vu, tMi(,fsvl|:,'IA; ;rt. e\i* A m« .,1. • t* -v

?*> I e\i' A s • <, «n ■ n -w. »c *-,r ^K .

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42] IN AMERICA ioi

refolving that night to reft at Namafchet?* a Towne vnder * Maffafoyty and conceived by vs to bee very neere, becaufe the [42] Inhabitants flocked fo thicke vpon every flight occafion amongft vs: but wee found it to bee fome fifteene Englifli myles. On the way we found fome ten or twelue men women and children, which had peftered vs, till wee were wearie of them, perceiving that (as the manner of them all is) where vi6luall is eafilieft to be got, there they Hue, efpecially in the Summer: by reafon whereof our Bay affording many Lobfters, they refort every fpring tide thither: & now returned with vs to Namafchet. Thither we came about 3. a clock after noone, the Inhabitants entertaining vs with ioy, in the beft manner they could, giving vs a kinde of bread called by them Matzium™ and the fpawne of Shads, which then they got in abundance, in fo much as they gaue vs fpoones to eate them, with thefe they boyled muftie Acorns,338 but of the Shads we eate heartily* After this

ed on *a July (Afonday, an inherently the-fifli-place." The fpot fo defig

probable day). Prince \N. E. Chron., nated here is in what is now Middle

pt. ii. 105] adopts Bradford's date, as borough, on the Nemafket River,

alfo does Morton [jV. E. Memorial, about thirty rods above the bridge

31], which is doubtlefs the true one ; patted in going from the Green to the

the date in the text being probably Four Corners, on the Middleborough

due to the blundering compofitors, and Plymouth road; being the rapids

and careless proof-reading, which dis- near the Lower Factory, which is

figure the volume. now called the Star Mills. ^. / pt ** r fa

336 Nemafket (Namaffeket, Namaf- 337 Bread rudely made from their • fc<^ j ^^^ n hm*^. a***

fakety Nema/cut, Sec.) is from Namas, maize, or Indian corn. ^ ^^ • \\~' ,j/ >»

" fifli;" fo that Namas-ohke-ut is " at- 338 See note 177. ^"

k -7. a, ^ ^ „- r~ Digitized by Google!

[42

they defired one of our men to fhoote at a Crow, complaining what damage they fuftained in their Corne by them, who (hooting fome fourefcore off339 and killing, they much admired it, as other (hots on other occafions. After this Tifquantum told vs we fhould hardly in one day reach Pakanokick** moving vs to goe fome 8. myles further, where we fhould finde more ftore and better victuals then there: Being willing to haften our Iourney we went, and came thither at Sunne fetting, where we found many of the Namafcheucks (they fo calling the men of Natnafchei)

fifhing vppon a Ware which they had made on a River which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of Bafle.341 Thefe welcommed vs alfo, gaue vs of their, fifli, and we them of our victuals, not doubting but we fhould haue enough where ere we came. There we lodged in the open fieldes: for houfes they had

339 Probably faces, poflibly feet.

340 Pokanoket (Pakonokick, Pawkunnawkutt, 6r*c.,6r*c.)t unlefs greatly corrupted, can be derived only from Pohkettai, or pogkeni, "dark," and ohke, "land," or "place." This is directly oppofed, in its literal or primary iignification, to wampan-ohke. (Eliot has, for " brightnefs, but . . . in darknefs" [Isa. lix. 9] wompag, gut . . . pohkendhtu.) The origin of the name is open to conjecture. Wampan, fignifying, primarily,"white" or " bright," was ufed figuratively for the dawn, and the region of light, the eaft. Pohkenai, "dark," may have

been, and very probably was, fimilarly ufed for the place of funfet, "the weft;" though it is not found in that fenfe in Eliot or in Roger Williams. If fo, Pokanoket would be "the weft country" to the Plymouth tribes, as the "eaft country" of the Narraganfetts. Or the name may have had fome local origin, —from the color of the foil, the obfcurity of a foreft, or other (now extinct) fuggeftion of darkness. 341 Probably at the Old Indian Wear, fo called, near Titicut, in the N. W. part of Middleborough; two or three miles S. W. of the junction of the Nemafket with the Taunton river.

* 04- n t*A^^ < rt£la*i- ***** **£4*^C.

«4 uj^^t^v 1+eix.c */&<< A,lg,

none, though they fpent the mod of the Summer there. The head of .this River is reported to bee not farre from the place of our abode,348 vpon it are, and haue beene many Townes, it being a good length. The ground is very good on both fides, it being for the moft part cleered: Thoufands of men have lived there, which dyed

2

in a great plague not long fince: and pitty it was and is to fee, fo many goodly fieldes, & fo well feated, with- [43] out men to dreffe and manure the fame. Vppon this River dwelleth Maffafoyt: It commeth into the Sea at the Narrohiganfet Bay,343 where the French men fo much vfe. A fhipp may goe many myles vp it, as the Salvages report, and a fhallop to the head of it: but fo farre as wee faw, wee are fure a Shallop may.3#

But to returne to our Iourney: The next morning ^ wee brake our faft, tooke our leaue and departed, being # then accompanied with fome fixe Salvages, having gone s/^^ u^ #3.'

about fixe myles by the River fide, at a knowne fhole place,34* it beeing low water, they fpake to vs to put off our breeches, for wee mull wade thorow. Heere let me not forget the vallour and courrage of fome of the Salv- ^^ ^ , -^?* % \

*- ages, on the oppofite fide of the river, for there were '

* * Ti*. remaining aliue only 2. men, both aged, efpecially the ^ M

^r^?^'"' *' '* ********** Aiw

"****** q 34* The Winetuxet (Winne-tuk-ef- 344 Tut/day, 33 July, 1621. <^ w«^ Aw c; „ t^ut(

j^aMal***, e^ «on-the-^mall-pretty-rive^,,) branch 34s There Teems to be no doubt that u^ufU^ J^luu^ 'TtL rft1 *>Lh

Tt%rU*% of Titicut River rifes in Plympton and this croffing-place was at what is now >{L^Ji 7^ .. f'

\.< J«lc^ Carver, within 6 miles of Plymouth. known as Squabetty, 3J m. E. by S. * J " :" [*** ** ***

fvrH'fotttfiJk * 343 Narraganfet Bay. of Taunton Green. 7" c*-t-c*- . *v 4ty£*i

fa «• '~~CU ^^^ y

«. 3 Pi

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one being aboue threefcoure; Thefe two efpying a company of men entring the River, ran very fwiftly & low in the graffe to meete vs at the banck, where with fhrill voyces and great courage (landing charged vppon vs with their bowes, they demaunded what we were, fuppofing vs to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage on vs in the water: but feeing we were friends, they welcommed vs with fuch foode as they had, and we beflowed a fmall / bracelet of Beades on them. Thus farre wee are fure the Tide ebs and flowes.

Having here againe refrefhed our felves, we proceeded in our Iourney, the weather being very hote for travell, yet the Country fo well watered that a man could fcarce be drie, but he fhould haue a fpring at hand to coole his third, befide fmal Rivers in abundance: but the Salvages will not willingly drinke, but at a fpring head. When wee came to any fmall Brooke where no bridge was, two of them defired to carry vs through of their owne accords, alfo fearing wee were or would be weary, offered to carry our peeces, alfo if we would lay off any of our clothes, we fhould haue them carried: and as the one of them had found more fpeciall kindneffe from one of the Meffengers, and the other Salvage from the other fo they (hewed their thankefulneffe accordingly in affor- [44] ding vs all helpe, and furtherance in the Iourney.

As we pafled along, we obferved that there were few places by the River, but had beene inhabited, by reafon

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whereof, much ground was cleare, faue of weedes which grewe higher then our heads. There is much good Timber both Oake, Waltnut-tree, Firre, Beech, and exceeding great Cheflhut-trees. The Country in refpeft of the lying of it, is both Champanie and hilly, like many places in England. In fome places its very rockie both aboue ground and in it: And though the Countrey bee wilde and over-growne with woods, yet the trees (land not thicke, but a man may well ride a horfe amongft them.346

Pafling on at length, one of the Company an Indian efpied a man, and told the reft of it, we asked them if they feared any, they told vs that if they were Narrohigganfety men they would not truft them,347 whereat, we called for our peeces

and bid them not to feare; for though they were twenty, we two alone would not care for them: but they hayling him, hee prooved a friend, and had onely two women with him: their baskets were empty, but they fetched water in their bottels, fo that we dranke with them and departed. After we met another man with other two women, which had beene at Randevow by the fait water, and their baskets were full of rofted Crab fifties, and other dryed (hell filh, of which they gaue vs, and wee eate and dranke with them; and gaue each of the women a firing of Beades, and departed.

346 Owing to the yearly burning of 347 It has already been dated (fee the brufh and undergrowth by the In- p. 96) that Maflafoit and the Narradians. See note 180. ganfetts were at war.

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After wee came to a Towne of Maffafoyts?* where we

i * eat Oyfters and other fifti. From thence we went to

**<*<* Packanokick™ but Maffafoyt was not at home, there we

-sL**********^ ftayed, he being fent for: when newes was brought of his

by, m*+m ArrJLo* Z^Wcomming, our guide Tifquantum requefted that at our

X^J^l meeting, wee would difcharge our peeces, but one of vs

v^,«c** /Kv*c^rtii, xS *g going about to charge his peece, the women and children

A^ci^L, iu *u*~-*/t^./c. *& through feare to fee him take vpp his peece, ran away,

tiXu*^^ and could not bee Pacified»tiu hee layd i4 downe againe,

*** ** f***^* Ljl id>\- who afterward were better informed by our Interpreter.

"^ji-cJ^Jr^fxz Maffafoyt being come, wee difcharged our Peeces, and **>^ 41^[45] faluted him, who after their manner kindly well

lul^^iiiZ^ir^i^tllj^ ~ commed vs>and tooke vs into his houfe, and fet vs downe <w/*»W.//*«/. by him, where having delivered our forefayd Meffage,

*Z^^ and Prefents» and havinE Put the Coat on his backe> and

K*u * /J~*u~. v, /tu ^^t^iX'the Chayne about his necke, he was not a little proud to

^l^.u;^kJl^Ili&m behold himfelfe, and his men alfo to fee their King fo -. «wur *>*** 'f^i^k. /Uu. brauely attyred.

->^,^vm «ci I** f«JL^£ For anfwere to our Meffage, he told vs we were well^7112^^--^,^^/^/ come, and he would gladly continue that Peace and ^f^ tuxz^/t/*w ^u ><fc: Friendfhip which was betweene him & vs: and for his

K*m-<J *> *f «~ct«t libs, i* JUJC9K.

Um i<v\su> -**a*J -t/<CH M<it, ^ This was probably at Mat a- fively fhown that while Packanokik 4 /u*~ ;^c*^^n» *\.iA , +S puyst (or Mattapoifet\ now known as was a general name for the Wampa\lmjUUM . ' f<t\ /?/t.-T(j±- Gardner's Meek, in Swanfey. — [See noag territory, in the neighborhood JV« 4. <l tft+f. &tP. iV r</t Winflow's Good Newes from New of what are now Warren, Briftol, &c,

R. I., the Indian village here intended was Sowams, built around the fpring called Maftafoit's Spring, near Baker's

9uMili o*u^j f k ty /fa England, in Young's Chron. ofPlym.y

•f 0 rf I y 349 Gen. G. M. Feflenden (in his uiuicu maiMiuu s apnug, near dam

r~^ ** a'(rn^ f**5~~ Hiftory of Warren, R. /.) has conclu- Wharf, in Warren.—[Pp. 27-30.]

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men they fhould no more pefter vs as they had done: Alfo, that he would fend to Pawned and would helpe vs with Corne for feed, according to our requeft.

This being done, his men gathered neere to him, to whom he turned himfelfe, and made a great Speech; they fometime interpofing, and as it were, confirming and applauding him in that he fayd. The meaning whereof was (as farre as we could learne) thus; Was not he Majfafoyt Commander of the Countrey about them ? Was not fuch a Towne his and the people of it? and fhould they not bring their skins vnto vs? To which they anfwered, they were his & would be at peace

with vs, and bring their skins to vs. After this manner, he named at leafl thirtie places, and their anfwere was as aforefayd to every one: fo that as it was delightfull, it was tedious vnto vs.

This being ended, he lighted Tobacco for vs, and fell to difcourfing of England, & of the Kings Maieftie, marvayling that he would Hue without a wife.3sb Alfo he talked of the French-men, bidding vs not to fuffer them to come to Narrohiganfet, for it was King Iame^ his Countrey, and he alfo was King Iamej* his man. Late it grew, but vi<5lualls he offered none; for indeed he had not any, being he came fo newly home. So we defired to goe to reft: he layd vs on the bed with himfelfe and his wife, they at the one end and we at the other, it being

33° James I. of England had become a widower more than a year before.

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^ , onely plancks layd a foot from the ground, and a thin

y**ft. +.J>. *"• Mat vpon them.35' Two more of his chiefe men for

4-T ' •k^^^^IJT^ want °^ roome Puffed by and vpon vs; fo that we were (uvtsit n +UM4t~*m,ti~ - J(worfe weary of our lodging then of our iourney. [46]

^£^C^> ffl The next day being Thurfday»35J many of their Sachmis, e£<isJ*iY*(L knvx^ /fti/rtu,or petty Governours

came to fee vs, and many of their ^i«a.i'i\^%«-**f*§ men alfo There th went t0 their manner of Games

^^<+su£,,~-^l for skins and kniues.353 There we challenged them to ^.uj^K^ n^. fhoote with them for skins: but they durft not: onely **+> -ft^t ***** ^ ^ they defired to fee one of vs fhoote at a marke, who fliootytr^^^ "v* "/^'ing w^h Haile-fhot, they wondred to fee the marke fo L £fr^> h 1WV* T* *- *"u^ °^ ^es- About one a clocke, Majfafoyt brought two •*y*. * 77Ltw 4x^1^- ^ fifties that he had fliot, they were like Breame but three -'-tu j*L>~ji*z times fo bigge, and better meate.354 Thefe being boyled « ^>. * c*^ there were at left fortie looked for (hare in them, the **>*.* tm <\<^iazL^' moft eate of them: This meale onely we had in two

£W ^ ^^ te/^ 3Sl "Their lodging is made in three 35* Thurfday, £ July, 1621.

frit* ««/. ^, faC^Ti^ piaCes of the houfe about the fire 353 "A game like unto the Englifh

&y i^a&'+^Ma *"*",*-< they lye upon plankes commonly Cards, yet, inftead of Cards, they play

••^^/Avvi /£«**» rffcij about a foote or 18. inches above the with ftrong Rufhes. Seco%lly, they

^AiJjlail^m^V*^ A ground raifed upon railes that are have a kinde of Dice which are Plumb

k***'itfdAit fit t^rtuUM ffauborne up upon forks they lay mats (tones painted, which they cart in a

***** *t*/*»orf. ^^t t„^ . r under them, and Coates of Deares Tray with a mighty noyfe and fweat

t^Ci-'^*-tyr* eK4j^l> (kinnes otters beavers Racownes and ing." —[Roger Williams, Key, &c,

^ Kis n+~i r.< ,/>^< ' of Beares hides, all which they have R.-I. Hift. Coll., i. 145]

M.**^Iili kr* el * dreffed and converted into good lether 354 " Probably Bafs, as thofe fi(h fwim

«*••**«_ ^ifcu! <i*L ' ' w*^ *^e ^a'rc on *°r ^ie^r coverings near the furface."—[Fefienden's//^/.

n i \/ *v and in this manner they lye as warme Warren, R. /., 16.] Roger Williams

iA i^. >{±t.&*C M they defire.»_[New Englijh Ca- fays, "They kill Bafle (at the fall of

,*4.«i h^Q^L*^ naan, Force, 11. v. 20.] See alfo Gookin the water) with their arrows, or (harp

ji\L tL.*/% ' and Roger Williams. — [1 Afafs.Hift. (ticks, efpecially if headed with iron,

Coll. i. 150/ R.-L Hift. Coll., i. 40.] &c."—[R.-f. Hift. Coll., i. 102.]

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nights and a day, and had not one of vs bought355 a Partridge, we had taken our Iourney fading: Very importunate he was to haue vs ftay with them longer: But wee defired to keepe the Sabboth at home: and feared we fliould either be light-headed for want of fleepe, for what with bad lodging, the Savages barbarous finging, (for they

vfe to fing themfelues afleepe) lice and fleas within doores, and Muskeetoes without, wee could hardly fleepe all the time of our being there; we much fearing, that if wee fliould ftay any longer, we fliould not be able to recover home for want of ftrength. So that on the Fryday morning before Sun-rifing,356 we tooke our leaue and departed, Majfafoyt being both grieved and afliamed, that he could no better entertaine vs: and retaining Tifquanturn to fend from place to place to procure trucke for vs: and appointing another, called Tokamahamon in his place, whom we had found faithfull before and after vpon all occafions.

At this towne of Maffafoytsy where we before eate,357 wee were againe refreflied with a little fifli; and bought about a handfull of Meale of their parched Corne, which was very precious at that time of the yeere, and a frriall firing of dryed fliell-fifli, as big as Oyfters.35*^ The latter we gaue to the fixe Savages that accompanied vs, keeping the Meale for our felues, when we dranke we eate each a fpoonefull of it with a Pipe of Tobacco, in (lead

355 Brought ? 357 See note 348.

356 Friday, f6 July. 358 Clams ? «,.. 3 L. *».

fii. **/*

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of other victuals; and of this alfo we could not but giue them, fo long as it lafted. Fiue myles [47] they led vs to a houfe out of the way in hope of vidtualls: but we found no body there, and fo were but worfe able to returne home.

That night we reached to the wire where we lay before,359 but the Namafcheucks were returned: fo that we had no hope of any thing there. One of the Savages had fhot a Shad in the water, and a fmall Squirrill as big as a Rat, called a Neuxis** the one halfe of either he gaue vs, and after went to the wire to fi(h. From hence we wrote to Plimouth, and fent Tokamahamon before to Namasket, willing him from thence to fend another, that he might meet vs with food at Namasket. Two men now onely remained with vs, and it pleafed God to giue them good (lore of fifh, fo that we were well refrefhed. After fupper we went to reft, and they to fifliing againe: more they gat and fell to eating a-frefh, and retayned fufficient readie rod for all our break-fafts. About two a Clocke in the morning,361 arofe a great ftorme of wind, raine, lightning, and thunder, in fuch violent manner, that we could not keepe in our fire; and had the Savages not rolled fifh when we were afleepe, we had fet forward fading: for the raine ftill continued with

359 See note 341. to the "little coloured squirril."—[tf.

3&> Neuxis feems to be mentioned /. Hift, Coll., i. 95.] Probably the

as the Indian name of the animal re- Sciurus leucotis, or Saurus Jbriatus,

ferred to. Antqufanlquuffuck is the is intended.

name which Roger Williams attaches 3*« Saturday\ J July.

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great violence, even the whole day thorow, till wee came within two myles of home.

Being wett and weary, at length we came to Namafchet% there we refrefhed our felues, giuing gifts to all fuch as had fhewed vs any kindneffe. Amongft others one of the fixe that came with vs from Packanokik having before this on the way vnkindly forfaken vs, marvayled we gaue him nothing, and told vs what he had done for vs; we alfo told him of fome difcurtefies he offered vs, whereby he deferved nothing, yet we gaue him a fmall trifle: wherevpon he offered vs Tobacco: but the houfe being full of people, we told them hee dole fome by the way, and if it were of that we would not take it: For we would not receiue that which was ftolne vpon any termes; if we did, our God would be angry with vs, and deftroy vs. This abafhed him, and gaue the reft great content \ but at our departure he would needs carry him on his backe thorow a River, whom he had formerly in fome [48] fort abufed. Faine they would haue had vs to lodge there all night: and wondered we would fet forth againe in fuch Weather: but God be prayfed, wee came fafe home that night, though wett, weary, and furbated.36* [49]

&*"Surbate is when the Sole of from folbattre> from fole (hat folea)

a Horfe's foot is worn, bruifed, or "a fole," and battrey "to beat," hence

fpoiled, by travelling without Shoes " to batter the feet by travel;" hence

&c." — [BaileyJ] Webfter derives it " to harafs," " to fatigue."

,.K.'

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tit* u«*<

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Ju *t-v*«A />. /^ J /^ Um^ '^ tl/t(tZt.

H2 [49

A

VOYAGE MADE BY TEN

of our Men to the Kingdome of

Navset,363 to feeke a Boy3*4 that had

lojl himfelfe in the Woods;

With fuch Accidents as

befell vs in that

Voyage.

He i ilh of Iune*s we fet forth, the weather being very faire: but ere we had bin long at Sea, there arofe a ftorme of wind and raine, with much lightning and thunder, in fo much that a fpout arofe not far from

<f if*AC*<+ ltfll.4 <lu»-/VS,tV> $Uji^+<*1

hp iff, *-* uJSk l^ vs. tut qocj ^ prayfed, it dured not long, and we put in k*hl &* aviw -u a*****^. - ^at night for Harbour at a place, called Cummaquid?*

*r r - 363 The Indian name of Eaftham. Bradford fays, "Aboute y« later end

~rf ei^br 6^*1, ' u**Jfcj 364 P"nce [^ ^ Chron^ pt. ii. 107] 0/" Mm month [July], one John Bil

Ia^C 1+4A<X*dL HlJUs tu tils fa\

5?

*T frvt,u**\ ikfijilr.U

t.

fays the boy was John Billington, — the elder brother of the fcapegrace who had nearly blown up the May

1

flower in Cape-Cod harbor, ,5 Dec. previous. [See page 43.]

365 Monday', Jj June, 1621. "But this date being ineonfi(lent with feveral hints in the foregoing and following dories, I keep to Gov. Bradford's original Ms., and place it between the end of July and the 13th of Aug." — [Prince, N, E. Chron., pt. ii. 107.]

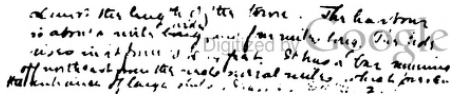
lington loft him felfe in y* woods, & wandered up & downe fome 5 days, living on beries & what he could find. At length he light on an Indean plantation 20. mils fouth of this place, called Afanamel, they conveid him furder of, to Nawfett, among thofe peopl that had before fet upon y* English, &c." — \HiJL Plym. Plant, 102.] 366 Cummaquid (Chumaquid) was the name of Barnftable Harbor.— [Freeman's Cape Cod, ii. 249.]

^-fn<A*K*t k;* it**/,*1 •£*.«.id Sir*'** < ++/*, **lL,

tLU\ , tool's

llKgt &**** n**U», Wtuc^UL?r?<*4 Arv^v

U nA "/*7% ISf.



where wee had fome hope to finde the Boy. Two Savages were in the Boat with vs, the one was Tifquantum our Interpreter, the other Tokamahamon?1 a fpeciall friend* It being night before we came in, we Anchored in the middeft of the Bay, where we were drie at a low water. In the morning we efpied Savages feeking Lobfters, and fent our two Interpreters to fpeake with them, the channell being betweene them; where they told them what we were, and for what we were come, willing them not at all to feare vs, for we would not hurt them. Their anfwere was, that the Boy was well, but he was at Naufet; yet fince wee were there

they defired vs to come afhore & eate with them: which as foone as our Boat floated we did: and went fixe afhore, having foure pledges for them in the Boate. They brought vs to their Sachim or Gouernour, whom they call [50] Iyanough?* a man not exceeding twentie-fix yeeres of age, but very perfonable, gentle, courteous, and fayre conditioned, indeed not like a Savage, faue for his attyre; his entertainement was anfwerable to his parts, and his cheare plentifull and various.

One thing was very grieuous vnto vs at this place;

367 See page 169.

3** Iyanoughfs fate was a fad one. In 1623, a confpiracy was formed

Standifh and his men. Iyanough was concerned in it; and, being terrified by the fate of Wittuwamet and Pek

among the Indians to put the Englifh fuoty he fled into the fwamps, where

to death, which was revealed by Maffafoyt, and which was fruftrated by the fudden and (harp meafures of

15

he died, either of ftarvation or of difeafe. — [Drake's Book of Indians, 78; Pratt's Hiftory of Eaftham, 8.]

/A** . '' ' —

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There was an old woman, whom we iudged to be no leffe

then an hundred yeeres old, which came to fee vs be

caufe fhee neuer faw Englifh, yet could not behold vs

without breaking forth into great paflion, weeping and

crying excefliuely. We demaunding the reafon of it,

they told vs, fhe had three fons, who when mafter Hunt

< H.i I i*f was in thefe parts went aboord his Ship to trade with him,

*A^v> tft^u tjo.4 and he carried them Captiues into Spaine369 (for Tisquan

tum at that time was carried away alfo) by which meanes

/. I *"n' ^ee was depriued of the comfort of her children in her

•lt^kK**fy*u<*i£si^ old age. We told them we were forry that any Englifh

f]T^ ^ /rVr; f man fhould giue them that offence, that Hunt was a bad

j}<Jic*u tac^icu^, /'« ta*^man, and that all the Englifh that heard of it condemned

c%. Jin '^/T'^him for the fame: but for vs we would not offer them

tzuAuki,^ JLu^ /tz any fuch iniury, though it would gaine vs all the skins in

r^^JrnJt^^u huL^J^it Countrey. So we gaue her fome fmall trifles, which J

vu lu Ju^/^^l ,t«tLu fome what appeafed her.

/>m/ /u, X^J^y^kA After dinner we tooke Boat for Naufet, lyanough and fc* tsu*^(ufi^m ttts+*+. two of his men accompanying vs. Ere we came to Nau

^^^u^x!h ^7^fet^ '^ie day anc* ty^e were a^m°ft fpent, in fo much as we

'h±u^u: /u iu^ ^ could not goe in with our Shallop: but the Sachim or

. Yfti. /6at un\ /,/ ,,f " Governour of Commaquid went a fhore and his men with

• b^Wct^»VM,w«^<! ^ him, we alfo fent Tifquantum to tell Afpinetthe Sachim

^^^f^ ^'^"'of Naufet^ wherefore we came. The Sauages here

„ ?; \i. came very thicke amongfl vs, and were earnefl with vs to

+&* XttUU^^^)u+„, / VtJ, 369 See note 305. that Afpinet periftied miferably, as

~ h<jj. y. tf*0 hu\ /ffl * 370 The meagre record indicates lyanough did.

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bring in our Boate. But we neither well could, nor yet defired to doe it, becaufe we had left caufe to truft them, being they onely had formerly made an Affault vpon vs in the fame place, in time of our Winter Difcouery for Habitation. And indeed it was no maruayle they did fo, for howfoeuer through fnow or otherwife wee faw no houfes, yet wee were in the middeft of them. [51]

When our boat was a ground they came very thicke, but wee flood therein vpon our guard, not fuffering any to enter except two: the one being of Maranurick?1* and one of thofe, whofe Corne we had formerly found, we promifed him reftitution, & defired him either to come to Patuxet for fatisfa<5lion, or elfe we would bring them fo much corne againe, hee promifed to come, wee vfed him very kindely for the prefent. Some few skins we gate there but not many.

After Sun-fet, Afpinet came with a great traine, & brought the boy with him, one bearing him through the water; hee had not leffe then an hundred with him, the halfe whereof came to the Shallop fide vnarmed with him, the other flood aloofe with their bow and arrowes. There he delivered vs the boy, behung with beades, and made peace with vs^ wee beflowing a knife on him, and like wife on another that firfl entertained the Boy and brought him thither. So they departed from vs.

37« Probably Monomoyick (Afana- tended.—[Freeman's//#£
Cape Cod. moyik, Monamoy, &c), the original ii. 579. See
alio Gookin's Hifl. Coll. Indian appellation of Chatham, is in-
in 1 Maff. Hift. Coll. 1 : 197.]

&

+ .2, ».

rsr

fc~v.

****&** «AJL>t * 9k AHA *Uy €*\t4~ M* <L^< Acuity

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Here we vnderftood, that the Narrohiganfets had

fpoyled fome of Maffafoyts men, and taken him. This

ftrucke fome feare in vs, becaufe the Colony was fp

weakely guarded, the ftrength thereof being abroad:37J

h «.«/./. "7 ^ut we ^et f°orth with refolution to make the beft haft

• «3U+ «,vi-i /w iu^ ~ home wee could; yet the winde being contrary, having

towjruitU **a^ fcarce frefh water leaf and leaft 6 ^agues'

t?/U&~* izz; fa™** i*k ^omei373 we Put in againe for the fhore. There we met

Pu.Wf**A^4 l^kifu^* etAAA againe with Iyanough the Sachim of Cumaquid, and the

,. , ^ "* *** *£/ c. Ulf nioft of his Towne, both men women & children with

^?^+i^ y^rhim; Hee beinS fti11 willing to gratifie vs, tooke a runPO^tptt^^u^ u/wu let374 and led our men in the darke a great way for water, dcii I 7XA^^uSUO'' kut could finde none good: yet brought fuch as there

was on his necke with them. In the meane time the Vm <u. /. i nt. women ioyned hand in hand, finging and dancing before

' * rL iUk*^ f«~ZuA&» the Shallop, the men alfo fhewing all the kindnes they

ii^li^l^^<^ ^r* could, Iyanough himfelfe taking a bracelet from about his

necke, and hanging it vpon one of vs.

Againe we fet but but to fmall purpofe: for wee gat but little homeward; Our water alfo was very brackifti, and not to be drunke. [52]

The.next morning, Iyanough efpied vs againe and ran

37a Dr. Young thinks that, in the nefs would depend much upon the

abfence of this party, but feven able- clofenefs with which they hugged the

bodied men were left at Plymouth at (bore in all its irregularities,

this time. 374 "Rundlet, a clofe Calk for Li

373 This eftimate of diftance feems quors, containing from 3 to 20 Gal

now a little large, though its exact- Ions."—[Bailey.']

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after vs; we being refolved to goe to Cummaquid againe to water, tooke him into the Shallop, whofe entertainement was not inferiour vnto the former. The foyle at Naufet and here is alike, even and fandy, not fo good for corne as where wee are; Shipps may fafely ride in eyther harbour. In the Summer, they abound with fi(h# Being now watered, we put forth againe, and by Gods providence, came fafely home that night [53.]

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Tifquantum.

T our returne from Nattfet, we found it true, that Maffafoyt was put from his Countrey by the Narrohigganfets?* Word alfo was brought vnto vs, that one Coubatant a petty Sachim or Governour vnder Maffafoyt (whom they euer feared to be too converfant with the Narrohigganfets) was at Namafcheti who fought to draw the hearts of Maffa

375 See note 336.

376 Bradford fays, " He [Hobamack] & Squanto being gone upon buflines amonge y« Indeans, at their returne (whether it was out of envie to them or malice to the Englifh) ther was a Sachem called Corbitant, alyed to Maflaftbyte, but never any good friend to y« Englifh to this day, mett with

them at an Indean towne called Namaflakett 14. miles to y« weft of this place, and begane to quarell wth them, and offered to ftabe Hobamack; but being a lufty man, he cleared him felfe of him, and came railing away all fweating and tould y« Gov what had befalne him, and he feared they had killed Squanto, for they threat

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foyts fubjedls from him, fpeaking alfo difdainfully of vs, ftorming at the Peace between Naufet, Cummaguid> and vs, and at Tifquantum the worker of it; alfo at Tokama~ hamon, and one Hobbamock™ (two Indians or Lemes,378 one of which he would trecheroufly haue murdered a

ened them both, and for no other caufe but becaufe they were freinds to y« Englifh, and fervifable unto them. Upon this y« Gover taking counfell, it was conceivd not fitt to be borne ; for if they mould fuffer their freinds & meflengers thus to be wronged, they mould have none would cleave unto them, or give them any inteligence, or doe them fervifs afterwards; but nexte they would fall upon them felues. Whereupon it was refolved to fend ye Captaine & 14. men well armed, and to goe & fall upon them in y« night; and if they found that Squanto was kild, to cut off Corbitants head, but not to hurt any but thofe that had a hand in it. Hobamack was afked if he would goe & be their guid, & bring them ther before day. He faid he would & bring them to ye houfe wher the man lay, and (how them which was he. So they fet forth ye 14. of Auguft, and befet ye houfe round; the Captin giving charg to let none pafs out, entred ye houfe to fearch for him. But he was goone away that day, fo they mid him; but underftood y* Squanto was alive, & that he had only threatened to kill him, & made an offer to flabe him, but did not. So they witheld and did no more hurte 8c

ye people came trembling, & brought them the bell provisions they had, after they were acquainted by Hobamack what was only intended. Ther was 3. fore wounded which broak out of ye houfe, and afaid to pafs through y« garde. Thefe they brought home with them, 8c they had their wounds dreft 8c cured, and fente home. After this they had many gratulations from diverce sachims, and much firmer peece; yea, thofe of ye lies of Capsi wack fent to make frendfhip; and this Corbitant him felfe ufed ye mediation of MafTafToyte to make his peace, but was (hie to come neare them a longe while after." — [Hift. Pfym* Plant, 103.]

377 Hobomok was a war-captain among the Wamfonoags, much beloved of Afaffafoity and influential in preferving

peace. He received a lot in the divifion of lands in Plymouth, on which he refided, and where he died (as a profefled Chriflian) before 1642. — [Drake's Book of Indians, 104.]

378 This is the moil puzzling pafTage in the volume. Dr. Young fuppofed it fliould read "our allies." Mr. Trumbull (ays, "' Or Lemes' has no Indian fenfe that I can difcover. Young's reading, 'our allies,' has

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little before, being a fpeciall and trufty man of Maffafoyts) Tokamahanwn went to him, but the other two would not; yet put their Hues in their hands, priuately went to fee if they could heare of their King, and lodging at Namafchet were difcouered to Coubatant?" who fet a guard to befet the houfe and tooke Tifquantum (for he had fayd, if he were dead, the Englifli had loft their tongue) Hobbamock feeing that Tifquantum was taken and Coubatant held a knife at his breaft, being a ftrong and (tout man, brake from them and came to New-Plimmouth% full of feare and forrow for Tifquantum, whom he thought to be flaine. [54]

Vpon this Newes the Company affembled together,

and refolued on the morrow to fend ten men armed to

' 'tKj. » ^1 ru~ <^V /k Namafchet and Hobbamock, for their guide, to reuenge

•^ l\ltu* •****{ ftA*~ •* the fuppofed death of Tifquantum on Coubatant our bit

~~~ r^*™^- ter Enemy, and to retaine Nepeof another Sachim or

* Au>+ku->^* zjju+i Gouernour, who was of this confederacy, till we heard,

/&A«t S\L //n*~ ''*•*-. ^f* what was become of our friend Maffafoyt.

On the morrow380 we fet out ten'"men Armed, who tooke their iourney as aforefayd, but the day proved very wett. When wee fuppofed we were within three or foure

never fatisfied me exa&ly ; yet I can quarters near Gardner's Neck, in

fugged nothing better, and am dif- Swanfey. He figned a treaty of peace

pofed to let it go at that." In which with the Plymouth men, with other

I concur. — [Ms. letter.] fachems, J* Sept, 1621. — [Drake's

379 Coubatant (Corbitant, Caunba- Book of Indians, 94.]

tant) feems to have had his head- 3*> Tuefday, JJ August, 1621.

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myles of Namafchet*x we went out of the way and flayed there till night, becaufe we would not be difcouered. There

we confulted what to doe, and thinking beft to befet the houfe at mid-night, each was appointed his taske by the Captaine,"all men incouraging one another, to the vtmoft of their power.

By night our guide loft his way, which much difcouraged our men, being we were wet, and weary of our armes: but one of our men hauing beene before at Namafchet brought vs into the way againe.

Before we came to the Towne we fat downe and ate fuch as our Knapfacke affoorded, that being done, wee threw them afide, and all fuch things as might hinder vs, and fo went on and befet the houfe, according to our laft refolution. Thofe that entred, demaunded if Coubatant were not there: but feare had bereft the Savages of fpeech. We charged them not to ftirre, for if Coubatant were not there, we would not meddle with them, if he were, we came principally for him, to be auenged on him for the fuppofed death of Ti/quantum, and other matters: but howfoeuer wee would not at all hurt their women, or children. Notwithftanding fome of them prefled out at a priuate doore and efcaped, but with fome wounds I At

fc u *• J9 *34

3«« Corbitant feems to have had a temporary fummer refidence at what is now known as Muttock Hill, in Middleborough, about three-quarters of a mile N. N. W. of the village of 16

the Four Corners,—where the wellknown Judge Oliver lived, whofe houfe was burned 4 Nov., 1778. — [Afs. letter from W. Latham, Esq.; Waftiburn's Judic. Hift. Maff., 303.]

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i" NEW-ENGLAND [55

length perceiuing our principal! ends, they told vs Cou

batant was returned with all his traine, and that Tifquan

tum was yet liuing, and in the towne offering fome To

] bacco, other fuch as they had to eate. In this hurley

i burley we difcharged two Peeces at randome, which

much [55] terrified all the Inhabitants, except Tifquan^ turn and Tokamahamon, who though they knew not our end in comming, yet allured them of our honefty, that we would not hurt them. Thofe boyes that were in the houfe feeing our care of women, often cried Ncenfquacs** that - w/ is to fay, I am a Woman: the Women alfo hanging vpon

• rL,*,*-*.-a* r+t^^n H0bbamock% calling him Towatn*1 that is, Friend. But \^~*^*z^*~~Y^ to ^ faor^ we]^ept them we j,^ ancj made them make

4>u^~~ ,*; nu~,<k~' c*i> a ^re that we might fee to fearch the houfe. In the m <*f?-, && . !:,usui<**j meane time, Hobbamock gat on the top of the houfe, and

1*4 h^^ /t/t (<*. %*//%? ^^d Tisfquantum and Tokamahamon, which came vnto 1 n*'> 11+1 %<lu*^4 ii^r vs accompanied with others, fome armed and others

l^Tj£4^y*rirdJ naked, Thofe that had Bowes and Arrowes we tooke

V^i^uLuzAt *& *+d*\ju. them away, promifing them againe when it was day.

WCj/<~u4 ,y/^a-t^ The houfe we tooke for Qur better fafegard: but releafed

w &*s.0uA.(Xuei4. U thofe we had taken, manifefting whom we came for and ^ ' wherefore.

* A+d*\ }»*< * f^ iyaOf On the next morning we marched into the middeft of (*U*fl. dti*<*« «*Ct s, \>)mJj\

ailLaa* * k *q&*> f^ fa jf, " Men/quaes dots mean 'I am than Mourt for the word, unlefs it

QJhM&ILiV, %uU*~' a girl'"—[Ms. note from Hon. J. H. was the writer's way of reporting the

^t^t*-*^ , *' /**" * ^' Trumbull.] word netomp,' my friend/ imperfe&ly

OHX , trf , irf.' *•* " Towam may mean 'friend;' heard and half-forgotten." — [Ibid.]

. but I find no better or other authority

* 71*. H4v^i tf»<»c«-«^v< um^cnt

, ^^^ <£«*«„ <x«^&«

the Towne, and went to the houfe of Tifquantum to

breakfaft. Thither came all whofe hearts were vpright

towardes vs, but all Coubatants fa<5tion were fled away.

There in the middeft of them we manifefted againe our

intendment, alluring them, that although Coubatant had

now efcaped vs, yet there was no place fliould fecure him

and his from vs if he continued his threatning vs, and prouoking others againft vs, who had kindly entertained | him, and neuer intended euill towards him till he now fo i iuftly deferued it. Moreover, if Maffafayt did not re- | turne in fafetie from Narrohigganfet, or if hereafter he j fliould make any infurre<5iion againft him, or offer vio- i lence to Tifquantum, Hobbamock, or any of Majfafoyts Subiedls, we would revenge it vpon him, to the ouer throw of him and his. As for thofe were wounded, we were forry for it, though themfelues procured it in not flaying in the houfe at our command : yet if they would v• * ^ '? * *~ ., .

returne home with vs, our Surgeon fliould heale them. ^^^.f^.^^T^ciJ^ /gt At this offer, one man and a woman that were wounded c*jM!i ~~+< J ^z<i^xulfuu

went home with vs, Tifquantum and many other knowne ^ w^ **** ** ^^A4"**

[56] friends accompanying vs, and offering all helpe that M* <£j+^ u* ^ f^^a/ti, might be by carriage of any thing wee had to eafe £&^uz^ '^44aU'^ vs. So that by Gods good Providence wee "***■'ftty<vu«Jtk *<zju*rf£^

u*-fa~U,' frvntz: fafely returned home the morrow T >^»,»*~f ^06^ m

jjU^^y^iKu*** mgnt after we fet forth. [57] *«~*w _^ #0^ , ^

- ... — ^r-. ■■■■ iili/q'll — «'T"l l ^r

JUL, ft'< hdl*L]*luiJL «Avt

ft U-Ivm.L . A*; ft 9'mLvt .'j.HUH

124 A [57

RELATION OF O V, R

Voyage to the MASSACHVSETS?

And what happened there.

T feemed good to the Company in generall, that though the Majfachufets had often threatened vs (as we were informed) yet we fhould goe amongft them, partly to fee the Countrey, partly to make Peace with them, and partly to procure their trucke.

For thefe ends the Governours chofe ten men, fit for

a* fcr^cw^^fr-.'. the purpofe, and fent Ttfquantutn, and two other Salva,* *a A*v*. <)7^ 8es t0 bring vs to fpeech w*th the people, and interpret

{Jud

r*vwt.

for vs.385 fc^dJX')l!^L~%We fet out about mid-night,386 the tyde then feruing

U^AiM, ~<~«L . * T.he Maffachufettsxx** was that

^^' / . v^ inhabiting the neighborhood of Bolton

* ^. 1 S^v , bay. Jofiah Cotton fays, in his In

9 K . dian vocabulary, the word means "an

«icm5«„.H fi «»* *~* m .n ^ f()rm Qf an arrQW,s head „

*MML/I^ft '^2**)*** Roger Williams says, in a depofition

^"rr^fT^takcnat Narraganfett, !8 June, 1682, ~« *u^ /^, -~*&n$ UJ ^ learnt that ^ Maflachufetts

was called fo from the Blue Hills.11— [3 Mafs. Hift. Coll., ii. 235; R.-L Hijl. Coll., iv. 208.]

38s Bradford's account is as follows: "After this, y« 18. of Sepemb*: they fente out ther fhalop to the Maflachufets, with 10. men, and Squanto for their guid and interpreter, to difcover and veiw that bay, and trade with y« natives; the which they performed,

WV! ,,2 0 ;/JJ. I4.il.

and found kind entertainement The people were much affraid of y« Tarentins, a people to ye eaftward which ufed to come in harveft time and take away their corne, & many times kill their perfons. They returned in laftie, and brought home a good quanty of beaver, and made reporte of y« place, wifhing they had been ther feated; (but it feems y« Lord, who afllgnes to all men ye bounds of their habitations,

had apoynted it for an other ufe.) " — [//*>?. Pfym. Plant., 104.]

386 Bradford, and Prince (probably from him), fix the date of this expedition as on Tuefday, jj September, 1621.

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for vs; we fuppofing it to be neerer then it is, thought to be there the next morning betimes: but it proued well

neere twentie Leagues from New Plimmouth?*1

We came into the bottome of the Bay,38* but being late wee anchored and lay in the Shallop, not hauing feene any of the people. The next morning3*9 we put in for the fhore. There we found many Lobfters that had beene gathered together by the Saluages, which we made ready vnder a cliffe.390 The Captaine3 fet two Sentinels behind the cliffe to the landward to fecure the Shallop, and taking a guide with him, and foure of our company, went to feeke the Inhabitants, where they met a woman comming for her Lobfters, they told her of them, and contented her for them. She told them where the people were; Tifquantum went to them, the reft returned, hauing direction which way to bring the Shallop to them.

387 The actual diftance, by water, from Plymouth to Bofton is not far from forty-four miles.

3M That is, run in by Point Allerton into Lighthoufe Channel.

389 They darted at midnight, and do not feem to have arrived until late the next day, when they anchored and patted the night; fo that this " next morning" was that of Thurfday^ J£ Sept.

390 Dr. Belknap [Atner. Biog.^ ii. 224] fuppofed that in putting in for the fhore, they went up N. W. through what is now the main (hip-channel, and that the "cliffe" under which

they landed was Copp's Hill; and Dr. Young [Chron. of Pfym.t 225] endorfed his theory. But Mr. Drake \Hift, of Bofl.) 44], relying for corroboration upon a Ms. of W. T. Harris, Esq., of Cambridge, fuggefls the much greater probability that they ftruck directly, a little S. of W. acrofs Quincy bay, to the nearer fhore, and that the "cliffe" was that pile of rocks known as " the chapel" at the N. £. extremity of the peninfula of Squantum. After examination of the localities, it feems to me that the probabilities of the cafe greatly favor the view taken by Mr. Drake.

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The Sachim, or Gouernour of this place, is called Obbatinewat^1 and though he Hue in the bottome of the Maffachufet bay, yet he is vnder Maffafoyt. He vfed vs very kindly; he told vs, he durft not then remaine in any fetled place, for feare of the Tarentines.39* Alfo the Squa Sachim?* or Maffachufets Queene was an enemy to him. [58]

We told him of diuers Sachims that had acknowledged

themfelues to be King Iames his men, and if he alfo

yZ' 7 . x- , would fubmit himfelfe, we would be his fafegard from his

wu >,< ,<a favibjL ^4 Mcr enemies; which he did, and went along with vs to bring

4*44 w'vs to the Squa Sachim. 'Againe we croffed the Bay

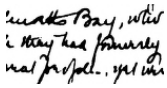
'c%^ which is very large, and hath at left fiftie Hands in it:39*

AvxHsJ+i ^juJLhaA^< Jul* id\ «.5 ft

&<ruoJbvut

VhAK

**.9&viuJ CtiUu'fu (i(u\<Zk.



39< The phrafeology which follows in the next paragraph, "if he alfo would fubmit himfelfe/1 feems to forbid the fuppofition, which has been entertained by fome [Prince, N. E. Chron., pt. ii. 112], that this was the Obbatinnua who, with eight other fachems, had acknowledged himfelf to be "a loyal fubjelt of King James,11

I^aa+14* }0x^k . *ukfcu*r*£at Plymouth (during the previous

week), l\ Sept., 1621.—[Morton's jV. E. Mem.y 29.] Obbatinewat is fuppofed to have been a fachem of the Maflachufetts.

39a "The Tarratines were the inhabitants of Penobfcot River. They were one of the three Etchemin tribes." — [Williamfon's Hift. Me., i.

459.] 393 When Nanapajkemet (foon to be

<uwrf

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***** '-rUi.'***

mentioned), the great fachem of the Maflachufetts Indians,died, his queen carried on the government as fquawfachem, marrying Webbacowet, the great medicine-man of the nation. I n 1637, fhe deeded a tract of land in Mujketaquid(Concord). J* Jan., 163* fhe fold Myftic Pond, and a large tract of land now included in Somerville, to Jotham Gibbons of Bofton. ,g March, 1644, (he fubmitted to the whites. She died before 1662. — [Brooks's Hift. Medford, 73, 74.] ^

394 Shaw's Hiftory of Bofton (a. d. ?r ^^ r 1817) contains a lift of the names of ./. ^ A-sj forty-feven "iflands and rocks in and / ^ x± + 1 near Bofton harbor." Snow's work a^fai aJK** (a. d. 1828) fays the bay "is bcfpan- %*uu*kZ*/* gled with upwards of 100 iflands or *&m[bitL*** rocks." — [Shaw, 83 ; Show, 113.] Wo 4 JLfc, ^,

Jl^fU. A^VC A-^ilt. ... /l/. . • " /

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P?6.

58] IN AMERICA "7

but the certaine number is not knowne to the Inhabitants. Night it was before wee came to that fide of the Bay395 where this people were. On fliore the Saluages went but^ found no body. That night alfo we rid at Anchor aboord the Shallop.

On the morrow396 we went alhore, all but two men, and marched in Armes vp in the Countrey. Hauing gone three myles, we came to a place where Corne had beene newly gathered, a houfe pulled downe, and the people gone. A myle from hence, Nanepa/hemet their King in his life time had liued.397 His houfe was not like others, but a fcaffold

was largely built, with pools398 and plancks fome fix foote from ground, and the houfe vpon that, being fituated on the top of a hill. ^

Not farre from hence in a bottome,399 wee .came to a Fort built by their deceafed King, the manner thus;

395 They feem to have eroded from Quincy over to what is now Charleftown.

396 ^Vfcy,*;g$% I62I.

397 Nanepa/hemet is faid to have been at one time the mod powerful fachem of New England. He refided at Lynn until " the great war of the Taretines," in 1615. He then re* treated to Medford, where he built him a houfe on Rock Hill. He was killed by the Taretines in 1619. Roger Williams [Key, &c, R.-I. Hift. Coll., i. no] fays that Nanepaujhat was the Wampanoag word for " Moone God." Whether we are to

infer any connection between that word and the name of this chief feems to be doubtful.—[Brooks's Hift, Medford, 72; NewhalTs Hift. Lynn, 35; Shattuck's Hift Concord, 2.] Dr. Young is wholly milled in his note here by his theory of their firft landing at Copp's Hill, which compels him to fuppofe that crofting the bay would carry them to Squantum, and that Nanepa/hemet lived on Milton Hill.

39* Poles.

399 In the vicinity of Myftic Pond, in Medford. — [See Drake's Hift. Bofl., 45]

<t^UA aJlZk /UVla ^i^AAjy^tl:

C' <i?q1.<&*sUUAAA^ >*&* U+-m **\.

^ Albs Mo*/bet, *<Uhu^.

4U+*l~> i-uA^i lUAXK +l*4A (/ri^

1«u

******* >.&#&&, /1?*. J J

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NEW-ENGLAND

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.«. 3. n.

dto^^K (u* aajUo , Ho* *&***

There were pools fome thirtie or fortie foote long, ftucke in the ground as thicke as they could be fet one by another, and with thefe they inclofed a ring fome forty or fifty foote ouer/ A trench breafl high was digged on each fide; one way there was to goe into it with a bridge; in

the midft of this Pallizado flood the frame of an houfe,

■a..

wherein being dead he lay buryed.400

About a myle from hence, we came to fuch another, but feated on the top of an hill: here Nanepajhemet was killed, hone dwelling in it fince the time of his death. At this place we flayed, and fent two Saluages to looke the Inhabitants, and to informe them of our ends in comming, that they might not be fearefull of vs; Within a myle of this place they found the women of the place together, with their Corne on heapes, whither we fuppofed them to be fled for feare of vs, and the more, becaufe in diuers places they had newly pulled downe their houfes,40' and for haft in one place had left fome of. their Corne couered with a Mat, and no body with it [59]

With much feare they entertained vs at firft, but feeing

400 An Indian Skeleton was exhumed in Weil Med ford, Mafs., 21 Oct., 1862, a ftiort diftance S. £. from Myftic Pond, which, partly becaufe there was with it a pipe with a copper mouthpiece, it was thought might be Nanepajhemet's.— [Proceedings Maff.HiJl. See., Dec, 1862.]

401 "They are quicke; in halfe a day, yea, fometimes at few houres

warning to be gone and the houfe up elsewhere, efpecially, if they have flakes readie pitcht for their Mats.

" I once in travell lodged at a houfe, at which in my returne I hoped to have lodged againe the next night, but the houfe was gone in that interim, and I was glad to lodge under a tree." — [Roger Williams, Key, &c, J?.-/. Hift. Coll., 56.]

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our gentle carriage towards them, they tooke heart and entertained vs in the beft manner they could, boyling Cod and fuch other things as they had for vs. At length with much fending for came one of their men, (halting and trembling for feare. But when he faw we intended them no hurt, but came to trucke, he promifed vs his skins alfo. Of him we enquired for their Queene, but it feemed fliee was far from thence, at left we could not fee her.*01

Here Tifquantum would haue had vs rifled the Saluage women, and taken their skins, and all fuch things as might be feruiceable for vs; for (fayd he) they are a bad people, and haue oft threatned you: But our anfwere was; Were they neuer fo bad, we would not wrong them, or giue them any juft occafion againft vs; for their words we little weighed them, but if they once attempted any thing againft vs, then we would deale far worfe then he defired.

Hauing well fpent the day, we returned to the Shallop, almoft all the Women accompanying vs, to trucke, who fold their coats from their backes, and tyed boughes about them, but with great fhamefaftneflem (for indeed they are more modeft then fome of our Englifli women are) we promifed them to come againe to them, and they vs, to keepe their skins.

40J Mr. Shattuck feems to fugged Maflachufetts. — \Hift. Concord^ 3.] that her refidence was in Concord, 403 Shamefacednefs.

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Within this Bay, the Salvages fay, there are two Riuers;

lk u.*- I,. ??f. the one whereof we faw, hauing a faire entrance, but we

"JU tUtdzi ^ ff«- had no time to difcouer it.404 Better harbours for fhip

Hu^Uo, /to /Jo^u, t/j */2u& ping cannot be then here are. At the entrance of the

^/ ***""• Bay are many Rockes j**5 and in all likelihood very good

'«.*.&. fifhing ground/0* Many, yea, moll of the Hands haue

"Fh%L*0*~Mt* %M,fco beene inhabited, fome being cleered from end to end,

" ^U%tofa "jM bUt tHe Pe0pk ^ aU dead"°r remoued

^/^rXn;^V^/^ 0ur vidluall growing fcarce, the Winde comming 7oJrrK+w^,i ^j^-f* /tx* ft™*- fayre, and hauing a light Moone, we fet out at

^U^^iCCT ^^SitcA^ euening, and through the goodnefTe of

fui.fdU CLUhAAJL, fa"<^vj^^ God, came fafely home be

uA>Ul<xLiX»U iaJUa h*+* cu4A*£xr.iii~ fore noone the day

jMj±f1f^ following.- [60]

:,r " *k\ TMlJlfwii^tfKtZr* *h The Myftic and the Charles, and Rainsford Rocks, keep their

*t/p Cto §9 kavJIUaa. »vWU^it- 4*n*u/tne former of which they (aw in their places in and around our harbor.

I ° 7 vifit to Nanepajhemef s houfe and ¥* A fuppofition that would then

'*•*•, \jZr f ' isi Srave> ^c< nave found abundant verification, —

vUy^4 k*m rwjK ^ The BrewfterS) Calf Ifland> Egg more f() ^^ now

M UjfcK ^/fU^^iZ6~**Rock9 Thc Graves> Harding's Rocks, 4*7 Saturday, *\ §£-, 1621.

/W^ur *«**. * ^H;/^' —

^.^«<^^^^::-^~' ,^

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A LETTER SENT FROM New-England to a friend in thefe parts,408

fetting forth a briefe and true Declaration

of the worth of that Plantation;

As alfo certaine vfefull Directions

for fuch as intend a Voyage

into thqfe Parts.

*

lOuing, and old Friend,409 although I receiued no Letter from you by this Ship,410 yet forafmuch as I now you expedl the performance of my promife, which was, to write vnto you truely and faithfully of all things. I haue therefore at this

time fent vnto you accordingly. Referring you for fur

408 This heading was prefixed in England by the party receiving the letter, who was probably the perfon who publiflied the fame, with the "more large Relations" which accompanied it, and to which reference is made. Writing in England, he naturally fays, "thefe" parts.

409 There is reafonable evidence that this was George Morton. — See Introduction.

4»<> The fhip which carried this letter from New Plymouth to old England was the Fortune, the firft which followed the Mayflower, in the intereft of the colony. She was of fiftyfive tons, and failed from London " in the beginning of July [1621], but it was the end of Auguft ere they could pafs Plymouth, and arrived at New Plymouth in New England the eleventh of November." — [Smith's New

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vul&i

ther fatisfa&ion to our more large Relations4" You fhall vnderftand, that in this little time, that a few of vs haue beene here,4" we haue built feauen dwelling houfes, and

l L+y> '73

K.5.9fr.

foure for the vfe of the Plantation,4'3 and haue made preparation for divers others. We fet the laft Spring fome twentie Acres of Indian Corne, and fowed fome fix Acres of Barly & Peafe, and according to the manner of the fndians,jwe manured our ground with Herings or rather Shadds,414 which we haue in great abundance, and take /fen* **.' *\^lU+,* with great eafe at our doores4's Our Corne did proue

T

A ?\L fad # lS.

inn 1

>k<i.<} h^j^^.

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u.A L. 2*1

t*\ 4»* h*44 \t4.» L/ix C?di.*A±4,L .

Eng. Trials, 16.] She was laded, for her return voyage, "with good clapbord as full as (he could ftowe, and 2. hoggfheads of beaver and other (kins," &c, the freight being eftimatcd "to be worth near /500." 1*, "— [Bradford, HiJL Pfym. Plant., 108.] Bradford fays (he " flayed not above 14. days " (probably after (he was unladen) [Ibid, no]; and (he evidently failed on her return voyage on Thurf. , , r * g -s day, 11 Dec, 1621 [Cujhman Gene

f.//'. tfn. r, *><up ' vlh.,h uj a. alogy,64\;and,as (he neared the EngKi^^^MKtuU^ iVx-.u.^iiih coaftj was taken by a French *#^», Wi *v/& ,'^ '/^C cruifer, carried into the He d'Yeu, f*" }*** *-i *& -'u\ '£ (*r robbed of all her valuables, and then ^£*..^.. „.' /:aii.^;-tlv4,a releafed, reaching England on Sunlh.i^ ^ ,i.L mui/<t««\../u fo^ «7 Feb., 162J. *w W Mai <tuUt + fat** 4ll (vhjch make up ^ bulk of thig Au u*A, KGiL/tz: tJUi^CujD volume.

^-~2 A(Wi 4"vmu(n^ W 4IJ window's letter bears date, rS^t'^'^ ' ",:Cil^^ Tuefday, JJ Dec, 1621. They had W *»*d^J?^l landcd at P1ymOUth' fr0m thc Ma^

flower, to commence their fettlement --«««-** Ate, t on^/^//^,^.

Dec, 1620; fo that*

the "little time" of which Window fpeaks lacked but nine days of a year.

4>3 It mud be remembered that the 102 with whom they landed on Cape Cod had been reduced exaclly one half by death ; fo that feven dwellinghoufes would now accommodate the whole, — in families of from feven to eight in each.

4«4 The fifh intended was, beyond queftion, the alewive. (See note 212.) Thomas Morton (ays, "There is a Fifh (by fome called (hadds, by fome allizes [alewives]), that at the fpring of the yeare pafle up the rivers to fpaune in the ponds; and are taken in fuch multitudes in every river, that hath a pond at the end, that the Inhabitants doung their ground with them. You may fee 100 acres together fet with thefe Fifh, every acre taking 1000. of them." — [New Eng. Canaan, Force, 11., v. 60.]

4«s In Town Brook, as the fifh thronged it in the fpring to go up.

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well, & God be prayfed, we had a good increafe of Indian-Come, and our Barly indifferent good, but our Peafe not worth the gathering, for we feared they were too late fowne, they came vp very well, and bloffomed, but the Sunne parched [61] them in the bloffome; our harveft being gotten in, our Governour4'6 fent foure men on fowling, that fo we

might after a more fpeciall manner reioyce together, after we had gathered the fruit of our labours;417 they foure in one day killed as much fowle, as with a little helpe befide, ferved the Company almoft a weeke, at which time amongft other Recreations, we exercifed our Armes, many of the Indians coming amongft vs, and amongft the reft their greateft King Majffafoyt, with fome ninetie men, whom for three dayes we entertained and feafted, and they went out and k lied fiue Deere, which they brought to the Plantation and beftowed on our Governour, and vpon the Captaine, and others. And although it be not alwayes fo plentifull, as it was at this time with vs, yet by the goodneffe of God, we are fo farre from want, that we often wifli you partakers of our plenties1* Wee haue found the Indians very faithfull in their Covenant of Peace with vs; very louing and readie to pleafure vs: we often goe to them, and they

.<. s. to.

***** **« j>*y<i 2*0 "

■ h*<f\ /^ST '

*< I 1 232.

HTf* I /■/•

416 " Shortiy after [/. e. after Carver's death, juft fubfequent to ts April, 1621] William Bradford was chofen Gover in his ftead." — [Bradford, HiJL Plym. Plant, 101.]

417 Here began that peculiar NewEngland feftival,—the annual autumnal Thanksgiving.

4«« This was written honeftly when it was written, though the addition of

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u «

come to vs; feme of vs haue bin fiftie myles by Land in the Country with them; the occasions and Relations whereof, you (hall vndeftand by our generall and more

liutd *****

***<kT. f<* fax 44t9* * full Declaration of fuch things as are worth the noting/'9

yea, it hath pleafed God fo to pofleffe the Indians with a feare of vs, and loue vnto vs, that not onely the greateft King amongft them called Maffafoyt* but alfo all the Princes and peoples round about vs, haue either made fute vnto vs, or beene glad of any occafion to make peace with vs, fo that feauen of them at once haue fent 44 *Jm i Ux+a*k io U t^ie*r meffengers to vs to that end,4" yea, an Fie4*' at fea,* hu~w«t j.*;,*r/kW«f which we neuer faw hath alfo together with the former

f*f/]rr*JL IrLmUL A**« fa *l*m± 4«9 See pp. 98-111

the Fortune's company to theirs, and the neceflity of victualing that (hip for her return voyage, made them know what famine was in the winter that was then beginning. Bradford fays, '"So they were prefently [after the Fortune

failed] put to half alowance, one as well as an other, which begane to be hard ; but they bore it patiently under hope of fupply." [no.]

4*> Morton [N. E. Memorial, 29] gives the following document, to which Winflow mod likely refers, although nine names appear upon it :—

"September JJ Anno Dom. 1621.

a -wt now all men by thefe Prefents, IV That we whofe Names are "under-written do acknowledge our "felves to be the Loyal Subjects of " King James, King of Great Britain, "France and Ireland, Defender of "the Faith &*c. In Witnefs where

" of; and as a Teftimonial of the fame, "we have Subfcribed our Names or " Marks, as followeth.

" Ohquamehud. Chikkatabak.

" Cawnacome. Quadaquina,

" Obbatinnua. Huttamoiden.

"Nattawahunt, Afiannow. "Caunbalant."

4« This is, clearly, a mifprint for " He." The reference feems to be to an occurrence in the latter part of Auguft, 1621, when, Bradford fays, "Thofe of ye lies of Capawack fent to make frendfhip." — [Hi/L Pfym. Plant., 104.] Morton, fpeaking of Capewak, adds, in the margin, " Now called Martins Vineyard." — [N. E. Memorial, 26.] Richard Vines, in his deed to Thomas Mayhew (of date

*j82;., l640> ipe*1"5 of "y* Iflands

of Capawock als Martha's Vineyard" — [Hough's Nantucket Papers, 4.]

&&.

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62] IN AMERICA 135

yeelded willingly to be vnder the prote<5tion, and fubie<5ts

to our foueraigne Lord King Iames, fo that there is

now great peace amongft the Indians themfelues, which

was not formerly, neither would haue bin but for vs; and

we for our parts walke as peaceably and fafely in the fa^ f j 233

wood, as in the hie-wayes in England, we entertaine > ^ i^Jxa " ^ &*r'

them familiarly in our houfes, and they as friendly beftow- fi^, h*±/„r,dJft«**u^

ing their Venifon on vs. They are a people without any <^w>ra /c^ Jtcfaz^jr

Religion, or knowledge of any God,4" yet very truftie, ^ Jv* k^firU* ^^

[62] quicke of apprehenfion, ripe witted, iuft, the men ^ €uaLmj **&*

and women goe naked, onely a skin about their middles; *Im* Attzt^ t ssu^ '

for the temper of the ayre, here it agreeth well with that ^l0iu^^T^*^^

in England, and if there be any difference at all, this is *^/c * <x/ a* &uLm^^'l

fomewhat hotter in Summer, fome thinke it to be colder ^ Ar^fK '^"W

in Winter, but I cannot out of experience fo fay; the r/ ^T/^^. • v*

ayre is very cleere and not foggie, as hath beene reported. ^yu *, t,vu+ /h^ *2ry

I neuer in my life remember a more feafonable yeare, p*sOri. wCsMn . """'

then we haue here enioyed: and if we haue once but ♦..*.#

Kine, Horfes, and Sheepe, I make no queftion, but men #. wm*vJki -k^i^C/a^,

might hue as contented here, as in any part of the world. tnts it^u^u M- ^ __

For fifh and fowle, we haue great abundance, frefli Codd "/*^ ~~w JCx^*^ &ufu~

in the Summer is but courfe4'3 meat with vs, our Bay is * ' '**** ' *' * ¡5"-'%

full of Lobfters all the Summer, and affordeth varietie of u'3' **+ "^^ n^^\/s^

433 « Whereas myfelf, and others, edge of any God, therein I erred,

in former letters, (which came to the though we could then gather no bet

prefs againft my will and knowledge,) ter, &c."— [Window's Good News%

wrote that the Indians about us are a &c, in Young's Plym, Chron., 355.]

people without any religion, or knowl- 4»j Courfe — rude, mean.—[Bailey."]

•«■*' aC*i^a-,

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4*. 3. ft. * A* ft/A /*• ^Ay< '/*i~ '

other Fifh; in September we can take a Hogfliead of Eeles in a night, with fmall labour, & can dig them out of their beds, all the Winter4*4 we haue Muffells and Othus4*5 at our doores: Oyfters we haue none neere, but we can haue them brought by the Indians when we will; all the Spring time the earth fendeth forth naturally very good Sallet Herbs;436 here are Grapes, white and red, and very fweete and ftrong alfo. Strawberies, Goofeberies, Rafpas,4*7 &c. Plums^ of three forts, with4*8 blacke and red, being almoft as good as a Damfen; abundance of Rofes, white, red, and damask: fingle, but very fweet indeed; the Countrey wanteth onely induftrious men to imploy, for it would grieue your hearts (if as I) you had feene fo many myles together by goodly Riuers vninhabited,4*9 and withall to confider thofe parts of the world wherein you Hue, to be euen greatly burthened with abundance of people. Thefe things I thought good to let you vnderftand, being the truth of things as nere as I

4*4 The previous winter had been exceptionally mild. See note 261 ; also note 327.

4*5 What mould be the true correction of this is not quite fo obvious as the fatt of the mifprint. Dr. Young fuggefts [Plytn. CAron., 233] that it was intended for "other," the word " fhell-fifh" being accidentally omitted. Dr. Cheever, in his reprint [jV. E. in America, 97], says, "Perhaps this is a mifprint for the word cockles" I am familiar enough with the locali

ty, and its shell-fimery, to feel Aire that the word which Window ought to have written here was " clams;" while I think it quite as likely that that word in the Ms. would have been twilled into this text, as any other.

4*6 Salad herbs.

4*7 Probably written Rafpis, which is an obfolete name for the rafpberry. — {Webfter.^

4*8 A mifprint for "white" ?

4»9 See the narrative of the journey to Packanokik) efpecially page 103.

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could experimentally take knowledge of, and that you might on our behalfe giue God thankes who hath delt fo fauourably with vs.

Our fupply of men from you came the ninth of November 16 2 i. putting in at Cape Cod, fome eight or ten leagues from vs, the Indians that dwell thereabout were they who were owners of the Corne which we found in Caues, for which we haue giuen them full content/ and are in great [63] league with them, they fent vs word there was a fhip43° nere vnto them, but thought it to be a French man, and indeede for our felues, we expected not a friend fo foone. But when we perceived that fhe made for our Bay, the Gouernor commanded a great Peece to be fhot off, to call home fuch as were abroad at worke; whereupon euery man, yea, boy that could handle a Gun were readie, with full refolution, that if flie were an Enemy, we would (land in our iuft

defence, not fearing them, but God provided better for vs then we fuppofed; thefe came all in health vnto vs, not any being ficke by the way (otherwife then by Sea fickneffe) and fo continue at this time, by the blefling of God,43' the

430 The Fortune.

43« The number of perfons added to the Plymouth colony by this arrival was thirty-five; befides whom came Robert Cufhman, to return with the (hip. The names of thefe palTengers, arranged in the order in which they 18

received their lots [Plym. CoL Rec, xii. 5], were as follows: —

1. William Hilton [left wife and two children to come in the Ann. He removed to Dover, N. H., before 1627, and thence to Kit

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^uoU Ait ;'o. «c« cA "fmt;£ A.'nt^lttU ^t-u/^Mi,

''«> ^Ut**

Ac«.«.«»—»»» (* fi+A^u*****)

U+st A. * ±Il*X*< ffsiv

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NEW-ENGLAND

[63

'V*l<^ «*«"*. ^ good-wife /brrf was deliuered of a fonne the firft night -3?^ u '^1y^J;l/C4Ulir (hee landed, and both of them are very well. When it h&*^f&u*ato,tu^yr(Ui, pieafeth God, we are fetled and fitted for the fifhing

^W**,f^ lift. S&Up _

rftUUcK?

(UtUjJsi

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tery, Me., where he was living in 1661. — Savage's Gen. Did.,

ii. 423]

John Window [brother of Edward, came (ingle; married Mary Chilton. In 1657, removed to Bofton, where he was a thrifty merchant, and died 1674, leaving a large family. — Savage's Gen. Difl., iv. 601.]

William Conner [came Angle; died or removed before 1627.]

John Adams [came (ingle; married Elinor Newton ; died 1633, leaving two fons and a daughter. — Savage's Gen. Did., i.

no

William Tench [came (ingle, and either died or removed before 1627.] 6 John Cannon [came Angle, and died or removed before 1627.]

7. Hugh Stacie [removed to Dedham,

and thence to Salem. It is conjectured that he may have thence gone home, and been the perfon of that name who with his wife helped to form the Congregational Church in Wrentham, England, under Rev. John Phillip, in 1650.— Savage's Gen. Did., iv. 159 ; Browne's Hift. Cong. Ch. at Wrentham, Suffolk, 13.]

8. William Beale [came Angle, and

died or removed before 1627.]

9. Thomas Cufliman [was fon of Rob

ert, now fourteen years old, and left with Gov. Bradford; was freeman in 1633 ; married Mary Allerton, 163*; removed to Jones's River, in Kingfton, about 1637, where he lived and died; 1649 was chofen Ruling Elder of the Plymouth Church; died *J Dec, 1691.— Cujhman Genealogy, 84-99.]

10. Auftin Nicholas [died or removed

before 1627.]

11. Widow Ford [had lately loft her

husband, probably in England, and brought with her children William, John, and Martha, and had another child the night after landing. It has been conjectured that (he married Peter Browne (fee note 27, No. 33, and note 265), and that (he returned, or died, liefore 1627. — Savage's Gen. Did., ii. 182.]

12. William Wright [had wife Prif

cilla, and by his will of j£ Sept., 1633, feems to have had no children.—Savage's Gen. Did., iv. 661.]

13 William Pitt [muft have died or

removed (perhaps to Marblehead) between 1624 and 1627.]

14 Robert Hicks. [His wife Margaret

followed in the Ann, with two fons and two daughters. Hicks had been a leather-drefler in

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bufine3, and other trading, I doubt not but by the bleffing of God, the gayne will giue content to all; in the meane time, that we haue gotten we haue fent by

London. He died *J Jg* 164J. — Savage's Gen. Die!., ii., 410.]

15. Thomas Prence [was fon of

Thomas of Lechlade, Gloucefterfliire; married, ,5S Aug., 1624, Patience, daughter of Elder William Brewfter; had five children by her; (he died in

1634, and he removed to Duxbury, and married, ^ April,

1635, Mary, daughter of William Collier, by whom he had four children; was Governor and Afliftant; removed to Eaftham in 1645, where his wife died, and, 1662, he married the widow of Samuel Freeman ; he removed again, in 1663, to Plymouth, where he died, 1» '67j. aged 72—Savage's Gen. Dicl., iii. 477.]

16. Stephen Dean [built the firft corn

mill in New England, in 1632; married, about 1627, Elizabeth Ring; had three daughters, and died in Sept., 1634. — Savage's Gen. Did., ii. 30.]

17. Mofes Symonfon (Simmons) [was

born at Leyden ; probably brought wife with him, but no child ; fettled at Duxbury; was one of the original proprietors of Dartmouth, Bridgewater, and Middleborough, but does not appear to have removed to either. He left two children.

Winflow fays of him (Hypocrifie Unmafkea\ '95), " Yea at this very inftant, another called Mofes Symonfon, becaufe a child of one that was in communion with the Dutch Church at Leyden, is admitted into Church-fellowfliip at Plymouth in New-England, and his children alfo to Baptifm, as well as our own," &c — Savage's Gen. Did., iv. 100.] 18. Philip de la Noye (Delano). [Of him Winflow fays (Hypocrifie Unmafked, 96), " There is alfo one Philip Delanoy born of French parents, came to us from Leyden to New-Plymouth, who comming to age of difcerning, demanded alfo communion with vs, & proving himfelf to be come of fuch parents as were in ful communion with the French Churches, was here upon admitted by the Church of Plymouth; and after upon his removal of habitation to Duxburrow where M. Ralph Partridge is Pallor of the Church ;. and upon Letters of recommendation from the Church at Plymouth, hee was alfo admitted into fellowfhip with the Church at Duxburrow, being fix miles diftant from Plymouth &c." He mar

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this fhip, and though it be not much, yet it will witneffe for vs, that wee haue not beene idle, confidering the

ried, JJ Dec, 1634, Either Dewfbury, and, after her death, Mary, widow of James Glafs and daughter of William Pontus, and had nine children. He removed to Duxbury foon after 1632, and died about 1681, at. 79, leaving an eftate valued at ^50.—Winfor's/>*/*bury, 65, 251.]

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Mfc+ <c±y>, ^ui xtwUl <al *"?> 65, 251.]

{K h«L LU(Slvk^>k<** EdwardBompane(Bumpus)[lived

* at Duxbury before 1634, but

moll of his days at Marfhfield;

had wife Hannah and eight

°^- Jf.i fiudsdrU., %*i fciAjliK children. — Thomas's Mem. of

}./f<j. AolIMl t tj/%Ai fn„'l ' Marjhfteld, 48.]

£ / j> 1 < /- 20- Clement Briggs [was quite young-/

*^<~*M* 'skU* f <n*^\ * when he Unded nQW. removed

;*f*' J*^ *^ "^ CuL^ "*K to Dorchefter; there married tv*< (wdiL'L^U .'/uiM^^(joan Allen, 163?; thence re<&fl Irrlnd. f h^l*JLufl. t ^nuU^O, moved to Weymouth. He had dk^i *rwu^ ?*+*+*&++ . fivefons.—Savage's Gen. Did.,

<k^^^LLj*r&r i.25'«] jhs^uirv^u /i«4> a**w£w£ d<±- 21. James Stewart [died or removed^ jny* IUk Uc\ >,v^vw t«c> r±i\t*/ before 1627.] JA C. a u- - L .22. William Palmer [brought his fon

\,tJ,\t M ' , . f . ^ William, his wife Frances com

,i/~ ,*■/,.* ing m the next (hip; he re

moved to Duxbury; had a fee

*>— » 4 >t4\ / ^^^ 1- movea xo i^uxtrary; naa a lee^iTrf'? ^ 6^,"^ ondwife; died early in 1638.

Js/-'t9.

fo«M~4, —Savage's Gen. Did., iii. 342.] 23. Jonathan Brewfter [was eldeft fon of the Elder. Mr. Savage fays he was born in Scrooby, Eng. But I have in my poflefllon a copy of an affidavit from the Leyden Records, which Rates

that he was "about 16 years old" * jg* 1609J which would throw back his birth to 1583, a date 11 years anterior to Mr. Hunter's record of the prefence of his father at Scrooby. This would make him 37 at landing. He was a ribbon weaver, and received the right of citizenfhip in Leyden, JJjJUJ^* 1617. He was in command of the Plymouth trading houfe on Connecticut River, in June, 1636; removed to Duxbury thence to New London, Ct, before 1649, where he died before Sept., 1659.—Leyden Aff. Rec.\ Savage's Gen. Difl., i. 244.]

24. Bennet Morgan [died or removed .

before 1627.]

25. Thomas Flavel. [His fon came

with him ; his wife followed in the Ann; but all were dead or removed before 1627.]

26. Thomas Morton [either died or,

removed before 1627.]

27. William Ballet [was a "journey-,

man mafon" from Sandwich, Eng.; ,99 May, 1611, was to have married Maggie Butler of Norwich, but (he died; JJ Aug., 1611, did marry Margaret Oldham ; had a wife Elizabeth, with three children, at Plymouth in 1627; lived at Duxbury in 1637; removed to Bridge water, and died 1667.—

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fmallneffe of our number all this Summer.43* We hope the Marchants will accept of it, and be incouraged to furnifh vs with things needfull for further imployment, which will alfo incourage vs to put forth our felues to the vttermoft. Now becaufe I expeft your comming vnto vs433 '**>% L ?*<o. with other of our friends, whofe companie we much defire, * ^*y J****** t u */A*~i 3 I thought good to aduertife you of a few things needfull; Z&£, !^t^^lez be carefull to haue a very good bread-roome to put your -**•' *ty>} n* cx^*. Biskets in, let your Cask for Beere and Water be Ironbound

for the firft tyre if not more; let not your meat be drie falted, none can better doe it then the Saylers; let your meale be fo hard trodd in your Cask that you (hall need an Ads or Hatchet to worke it out with: Truft not too much on vs for Corne at this time, for by reafon of this laft company that came, depending wholy vpon vs, we shall haue little enough till harueft; be carefull to come by fome of your meale to fpend by the way, it will much refrefh you, build your Cabbins as open as you can, and bring good (lore of clothes, and bed- [64] ing with you; bring euery man a Musket or fowling Peece, let your Peece be long in the barrell, and feare not the waight of it, for mod of our (hooting is from Stands; bring iuyce

Ley den Mf. Rec; Savage's died in the interval before this lift

Gen. Dift.y i. 136.] was made.

. 43a See note 372.

Thefe twenty-feven, with fuch of 433 George Morton came with his

their wives and children as came family in the Ann, which (ailed from

with them, made up the full number London the laft of April, or firft of

brought by the ftiip, unlefs fome one May, 1623.

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"* ****** **Cuc ^ "* of Lemons, and take it fading, it is of good vfe; for hot

^r^ Anni-feed water is the bed, but vfe it fparingly :

t^bu+*tJ>t /jjrHj^ m if you bring any thing for comfort in the Country, Butter

*pA j££HL J^am Sallet °yle»or both is very s°od; our Indian Corne

^4u^ a^m. C^^^ 4^ieven the courfeft, maketh as pleafant meat as Rice.there

"fy\ ki^ k d* ^7^"'f°re *Pare that vnleffe to fpend by the way; bring Paper,

^^^tv,'ite*2u^, and Linced oyle for your Windowes,434 with Cotton yarne

hi «*vt^£rv«, ' <«. £or your Lamps.]et your f^Qtt be mod for bigge Fowles,

//^ '//vw, ' 5 ' and bring dore of Powder and (hot: I forbeare further to

^L-tv***^ ^,4/v^ write for the prefent, hoping to fee you by the next re

ti$tU^^ fo * teke my leaue' commending y°u to the Lord

^h j-Ilh++j .1 f*+4 for a fafe conduft vnto vs. Reding in him

&U±si**cW% 7H+A~U*i%,? L^h>*U*^lt4

Kurt- ' .

• /*i*/c 7^ Plimmouth in New-England

h* <r/4r*w**, ^7/^'this n. of December. 70#r louing Friend

Jk+* fe;J ^d/ ~h 434 Thls>with the "daubing" be- 435 TW/fcy, » Dec, 1621,-juft

, <T " / <: / . fore mentioned (fee note 282), give one year from the day on which the

♦ it* isvpu<r a^ <** /» *** one ^ |cjea 0f t^e rudenefs of the firft landing took place from the flial

rnlUj -/u^i^u, t cM : ii houfes of tWs plantation at this $mtf lop upon the rock

/u*3i* ^l*^ ^^yL^< Glafs windows were then far beyond 436 There can be no doubt that this ^ ^WWs Kx^uU^y, . the.r means was Edward winflow. (See note I52>)

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85] H3

Reafons & confiderations touching

the lawfulnefle of remouing out of

England into the parts of America.

jOrafmuch as many exceptions are daily made The vnmagainft the going into, and inhabiting of forraine defert places, to the hinderances of plantations abroad, and the increafe of diftraftions at home: It is not amiffe that fome

which haue beene eare witneffes of the exceptions made, and are either Agents or Abettors of fuch remouals and plantations, doe feeke to giue content to the world, in all things that poflibly they can.

And although the moft of the oppofites are fuch as either dreame of raifing their fortunes here, to that then which there is nothing more vnlike, or fuch as affe<5ting their home-borne countrey fo vehemently, as that they had rather with all their friends begge, yea ftarue in it, then vndergoe a little difficultie in feeking abroad; yet are there fome who out of doubt in tenderneffe of confcience, and feare to offend God by running before they be called, are ftraitned and doe ftraiten others, from going to forraine plantations.

For whofe caufe efpecially, I haue beene drawne out of my good affediion to them, to publifti fome reafons that might giue them content and fatisfa<5tion, and alfo ftay and flop the wilfull and wittie cauiller: and herein I truft

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Goo^fe

I (hall not be blamed of any godly wife, though thorow my (lender iudgement I (hould miffe the marke, and not ftrike the naile on the head, confidering it is the firft attempt that hath beene made (that I know of) to defend thofe enterprifes. Reafon would therefore, that if any man of deeper reach and better iudgement fee further or otherwife, that he rather inftru<5i me, then deride me. cautions. And being ftudious for breuitie, we muft firft confider,

ctn.....,». that whereas God of old did call and fummon our Fathers by predictions, dreames, vifions, and certaine

illuminations [66] to goe from their countries, places and habita

Mat. a. 19. tions, to refide and dwell here or there, and to wander vp

/»/a/.«o$.,3. an(j downe from cjtje t0 cjtiCj an(j Lanj t0 Land, according to his will and pleafure. Now there is no fuch calling to be expected for any matter whatfoeuer, neither muft any fo much as imagine that there will now be any fuch thing. God did once fo traine vp his people, but now he doth not, but fpeakes in another manner, and fo we muft apply our felues to Gods prefent dealing, and not to his wonted dealing: and as the miracle of giuing

ioJh'5'"' Manna ceafed, when the fruits of the land became plentie, fo God hauing fuch a plentifull ftorehoufe of directions in his holy word, there muft not now any extraordinarie reuelations be expected.

But now the ordinarie examples and precepts of the Scriptures reafonably and rightly vnderftood and applied,

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67] 145

muft be the voice and word, that muft call vs, preffe vs, and dire<5t vs in euery action.

Neither is there any land or pofleflion now, like vnto the pofleflion which the Iewes had in Canaan* being legally holy and appropriated vnto a holy people the feed of Abraham, in which they dwelt fecurely, and had their daies prolonged, it being by an immediate voice faid, that he (the Lord) gaue it

them as a land of reft after their wearie trauels, and a type of Etemall reft in heauen, but now there is no land of that San<5Hmonie, no land fo appropriated; none typicall: much lefle any that can be faid to be giuen of God to any nation as was Canaan* which they and their feed muft dwell in, till God fendeth vpon them fword or captiuitie: but now we are in all places ftrangers and Pilgrims, trauellers and foiourners, mod properly, hauing no dwelliug but in this earthen * c*r. 5.1, Tabernacle; our dwelling is but a wandring, and our abiding but as a fleeting, and in a word our home is no ft^t^l 7 where, but in the heauens: in that houfe not made with iJTwdS^ f "' ' **'< hands, whofe maker and builder is God, and to which all J^^^re afcend that loue the comming of our Lord Jefus. a^J^T

Though then, there may be reafons to perfwade a man to Hue in this or that land, yet there cannot be the fame reafons which the Iewes had, but now as naturail, ciuill and Religious [67] bands tie men, fo they muft be bound, and as good reafons for things terrene and heauenly appeare, fo they muft be led. And fo here falleth in our '9

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^oogk

hence re« moue.

H6 [67

queftion, how a man that is here borne and bred, and

hath liued fome yeares, may remoue himfelfe into another

countrie.

ahsw. I anfwer, a man muft not respedl only to Hue, and doe

what per- good to himfelfe, but he fhould fee where he can Hue to

fons may

doe mod good to others: for as one faith, He whofe lining is but for himfelj% it is time he were dead. Some men there are who of neceflitie muft here Hue, as being tied to duties either to Church, Common-wealth, houfliold, kindred, &c. but others, and that many, who doe no good in none of thofe nor can doe none, as being not able, or not in fauour, or as wanting opportunitie, and Hue as outcafts: no bodies, eie-fores, eating but for themfelues, teaching but themfelues, and doing good to none, either in foule or body, and fo paffe ouer daies, yeares, and ? moneths, yea fo Hue and fo die. Now fuch fhould lift vp their eies and fee whether there be not fome other place and countrie to which they may goe to doe good and haue vfe towards others of that knowledge, wifdome, whyAey humanitie, reafon, ftrength, skill, facultie, &c. which God moL re hath giuen them for the feruice of others and his owne glory.

But not to paffe the bounds of modeftie fo far as to name any, though I confeffe I know many, who fit here Luk. 19.2a ftiM with th^1, ta'ent *n a napkin, hauing notable endowments both of body and minde, and might doe great good if they were in fome places, which here doe none,

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nor can doc none, and yet through flefhly feare, niceneffe, flraitneffe of heart, &c. fit ftill and looke on, and will not hazard a dram of health, nor a day of pleafure, nor an houre

of reft to further the knowledge and faluation of the fons of Adam in that New world, where a drop of the *,tf/, knowledge of Chrift is moft precious, which is here not fet by. Now what (hall we fay to fuch a profeflion of Chrift, to which is ioyned no more deniall of a mans felfe ? But fome will fay, what right haue I to goe Hue obun. in the heathens countrie ?

Letting paffe the ancient difcoueries, contracts and Anrw. agreements which our Englifh men haue long fince made in thofe [68] parts, together with the acknowledgement of the hiftories and Chronicles of other nations, who profeffe the land of America from the Cape De Florida vnto a , j ^^ the Bay of Canado (which is South and North 300. " ^,:i(w i^ »f leagues andvpwards; and Eaft and Weft, further then ftKur,>« 4u<m.; dU _ yet hath beene difcouered) is proper to the King of Eng- ^^^ T^ *^ land, yet letting that paffe, left I be thought to meddle >^y, *^ ^ fsU^i^4 further then it concerns me, or further then I haue dif- ^~f*~^ ^^^^s. cerning: I will mention fuch things as are within my c J*~ u'*'"4T*d % reach, knowledge, fight and pradlife, fince I haue trauailed fy*^*^ , **• /s-/a% V<c in thefe affaires. Q*~±*P* «<~A* /4£^

And firft feeing we daily pray for the conuerfion of the Rtaf.,. ' '~3 '

heathens, we muft confider whether there be not fome ordinary meanes, and courfe for vs to take to conuert them, or whether praier for them be only referred to Gods

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Go^le

extraordinarie worke from heauen. Now it feemeth vnto me that we ought alfo to endeuour and vfe the meanes to conuert them, and the meanes cannot be vfed vnleffe we goe to them or they come to vs: to vs they cannot come, our land is full: to them we may goe, their land is emptie. w.3. This then is a fufficient reafon to proue our going

thither to Hue, lawfull: their land is fpatious and void, & there are few and doe but run ouer the graffe, as doe alfo the Foxes and wilde beads: they are not induftrious, neither haue art, fcience, skill or facultie to vfe either the land or the commodities of it, but all fpoiles, rots, and is marred for want of manuring, gathering, ordering, &c. As the ancient Patriarkes therefore remoued from ftraiter places into more roomthy, where the Land lay idle and wafte, and none vfed it, though there dwelt inhabitants by them, as Gen. 13. 6. 11. 12. and 34. 21. and 41. 20. fo is it lawfull now to take a land which none vfeth, and make vfe of it. •«/</ r Re?*' ^nc* as ** ls a common land or vnufed, & vndreffed cLtk.<, hA \ confi^" countrey; fo we haue it by common confent, compofition new e%- and agreement, which agreement is double: Firft the territories * Imperial Gouernor MaJJafoit> whofe circuits in likelihood plantation, are larger then England and Scotland^ hath acknowledged the Kings Maieftie of England to be his Mafter and Commander, and that once in my hearing, yea and in writing, vnder his hand to Captaine [69] Standifli, both he and many other Kings which are vnder him, as

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Pamet, Naufet, Cummaquid, Narrowhiggonfet% Natnaf- t/« * /<*tV.

chet, &c, with diuers others that dwell about the baies of

Paluxet, and Maffachufet: neither hath this beene accom

plifhed by threats and blowes, or (baking of fword, and

found of trumpet, for as our facultie that way is fmall,

and our ftrength leffe: fo our warring with them is after

another manner, namely by friendly vfage, loue, peace,

honeft and iuft cariages, good counfell, &c, that fo we

t /

' }U AST '^ILVUU^I^I

Al^X^^A &*9r*L*Alc '* fa**

<•» hvi" <!nA+AtUc*\\. ,* /fee,

and they may not only Hue in peace in that land, and /ywno.3. ^^iL 'fa-•+**** they yeelcl fubiedtion to an earthly Prince, but that as

voluntaries they may be perfwaded at length to embrace the Prince of peace Chrift Iefus, and reft in peace with him for euer.

Secondly, this compofition is alfo more particular and applicatorie as touching our felues there inhabiting: the Emperour by a ioynt confent, hath promifed and appointed vs to Hue at peace, where we will in all his dominions, taking what place we will, and as much land as we will, and

bringing as many people as we will, and that for thefe two caufes. Firft, becaufe we are the feruants of lames King of England^ whofe the land (as he confeffeth) is, 2. becaufe he hath found vs iuft, honeft, kinde and peaceable, and fo loues our company; yea, and that in thefe things there is no diflimulation on his part, nor fcare of breach (except our fecuritie ingender in them fome vnthought of trecherie, or our vnciuilitie prouoke them to anger) is moft plaine in other Relations,437 which

437 The " Relations" preceding in this volume, are thofe here intended.

*6

<*u* A/axu hu (u 'tin fr*F*> ***** tu^u.

f^k a *>>

°^'

U

v*<

/>

/

150 [70

(hew that the things they did were more out of loue then out of feare.

It being then firft a vaft and emptie Chaos: Secondly acknowledged the right of our Soueraigne King: Thirdly, by a peaceable compofition in part poffeffed of diuers of his louing fubiedts, I fee not who can doubt or call in queftion

the lawfulneffe of inhabiting or dwelling there, but that it may be as lawfull for fuch as are not tied vpon fome fpeciall occafion here, to Hue there as well as here, yea, and as the enterprife is weightie and difficult, fo the honour is more worthy, to plant a rude wilderneffe, to enlarge the honour and fame of our dread Soueraigne, but chiefly to difplaie the [70] efficacie & power of the Gofpell both in zealous preaching, profefling, and wife walking vnder it, before the faces of thefe poore blinde Infidels.

As for fuch as obje<5i the tedioufneffe of the voyage thither, the danger of Pirats robberie, of the fauages

pnm.**. 13. treacherie, &c. thefe are but Lyons in the way, and it were well for fuch men if they were in heauen, for who can fliew them a place in this world where iniquitie fliall not compaffe them at the heeles, and where they fliall

J/!*"* ^aue a ^ay without griefe, or a leafe of life for a moment; and who can tell but God, what dangers may lie at our doores, euen in our natiue countrie, or what plots may be abroad, or when God will caufe our funne to goe downe

/iv^/8.9 at noone daies, and in the midft of our peace and

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fecuritie, lay vpon vs fome lading fcourge for our fo long negleft and contempt of his mod glorious Gofpell.

But we haue here great peace, plentie of the Gofpell, 0band many fweet delights and varietie of comforts.

True indeed, and farre be it from vs todenie and a*/*,. diminifh the leaft of thefe mercies, but haue we rendered , ch™. 3». vnto God thankfull obedience for this long peace, whilft *5' other peoples haue beene at wars ? haue we not rather murmured, repined, and fallen at iars amongft our felues, whilft our peace hath lafted with forraigne power ? was there euer more fuits in law, more enuie, contempt and reproch then now adaies ? Abraham and Lot departed

* GV*. 13.9,10.

afunder when there fell a breach betwixt them, which was occafioned by the ftraightneffe of the land: and furely I am perfwaded, that howfoeuer the frailties of men are principall in all contentions, yet the ftraitnes of the place is fuch, as each man is faine to plucke his meanes as it were out of his neighbours throat, there is fuch preffing and opprefling in towne and countrie, about Farmes, trades, traffique, &c. fo as a man can hardly any where fet vp a trade but he fhall pull downe two of his neighbours.

The Townes abound with young tradef-men, and the Hofpitals are full of the Auncient, the country is repleniflied with new Farmers, and the Almef-houfes are filled with old Labourers, many there are who get their liuing with bearing burdens, but moe are faine to burden the

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^oogfe

land with their [71] whole bodies: multitudes get their meanes of life by prating, and fo doe numbers more by begging. Neither come thefe ftraits vpon men alwaies through intemperancy, ill husbandry, indifcretion, &c. as

fome thinke, but euen the moft wife, fober, and difcreet men, goe often to the wall, when they haue done their beft, wherein as God's prouidence fwaieth all, fo it is eafie to fee, that the ftraitneffe of the place hauing in it fo many ftrait hearts, cannot but produce fuch effe(5is more and more, fo as euery indifferent minded man fhould be ready to fay with Father Abraham, Take thou the right hand, and I will take the left: Let vs not thus oppreffe, ftraiten, and afflicSl one another, but feeing there is a fpatious Land, the way to which is thorow the fea, wee will end this difference in a day.

That I fpeake nothing about the bitter contention that hath beene about Religion, by writing, difputing, and inueighing earneftly one againft another, the heat of which zeale if it were turned againft the rude barbarifme of the Heathens, it might doe more good in a day, then it hath done here in many yeares. Neither of the little loue to the Gofpell, and profit which is made by the Preachers in moft places, which might eafily driue the zealous to the Heathens who no doubt if they had but a drop of that knowledge which here flieth about the ftreetes, would be filled with exceeding great ioy and

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gladneffe, as that they would euen plucke the kingdome of heauen by violence, and take it as it were by force.

The greateft let that is yet behinde is the fweet fellow- t*1* <* tet(hip of friends, and the fatietie of bodily delights.

But can there be two neerer friends almoft'then Abraham and Lot, or then Paul and Barnabas, and yet vpon as little

occafions as we haue heere, they departed afunder, two of them being Patriarches of the Church of old; the other the Apoftles of the Church which is new, and their couenants were fuch as it feemeth might binde as much as any couenant betweene men at this day, and yet to auoid greater inconueniences they departed afunder.

Neither muft men take fo much thought for the flefh, as not [72] to be pleafed except they can pamper their bodies with varietie of dainties. Nature is content with little, and health is much endangered, by mixtures vpon the ftomach: The delights of the palate doe often inflame the vitall parts: as the tongue fetteth a fire the whole body. Secondly, varieties here are not common to all, but many good men are glad to fnap at a cruft. The rent taker Hues on fweet morfels, but the rent payer eats a drie cruft often with watery eies: and it is nothing to fay what fome one of a hundreth hath, but what the bulke, body and cominalty hath, which I warrant you is fhort enough.

And they alfo which now Hue fo fweetly, hardly will their children attaine to that priuiledge, but fome circum20

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uentor or other will outftrip them, and make them fit in the duft, to which men are brought in one age, but cannot get out of it againe in 7. generations.

To conclude, without all partialitie, the prefent con

fumption which groweth vpon vs here, whilft the land

groaneth vhder fo many clofe-fifted and vnmercifull men,

being compared with the eafmeffe, plaineneffe and plenti

fulneffe in liuing in thofe remote places, may quickly

perfwade any man to a liking of this courfe, and to prac

tife a remoual, which being done by honeft, godly and

induftrious men, they fhall there be right hartily welcome,

„ , but for other of diffolute and prophane life, their roomes

° "Jtdiu i^iCu^L it t»J* are '3etter ^en t'ie*r companies; for if here where the

k -»~aZfa~*Z t* m*. CS*. Gofpell hath beene fo long and plentifully taught, they are

a^A*^ &2«+^a ft.^.-A yet frequent in fuch vices as the Heathen would fhame

Z^XZ^x K* ifiEZ^^ to fpeake of, what will they be when there is leffe reftraint *f°' to^/KftrfcjU. in word and deed? M ond fute to all men is> that

sue* <*a#zzu~ L^,+* *zc whether they Hue there or here, they would learne to vfe

pT/£^^ world M they vfed {i not' keeping faith and a good

ikt* / /to{ irt>""£. A /h3t confeience, both with God and men, that when the day * to ju*^ «*• <^^^uc 0f account fhall come, they may come forth as good and mAu: k* h^jfoww.' h*. fruitfull feruants, and freely be receiued, and enter into ^ * ^^ *^^;^e ioy of their mafter.

™ *• *? t«"^H£. ^: ,±r^;*r finis, f ^ AL^*, ■ •*+**<~~

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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Ckrorarlojgual &Mt of €bmts.

Day of week.	O.S.	N.S.	Year.
s. ». w.	July. 5 Aug. 13 Aug. 23 Aug.	July. 15 Aug. 23 Aug. 2 Sept	l620 tt tt a tt
w. Th. S.	6 Sept 9 Nov. 11 Nov.	16 Sept 19 Nov. 21 Nov.	it tt tt
M.	13 Nov.	23 Nov.	tt

W.	15 Nov.	25 Nov.	tt
Th.	16 Nov.	26 Nov.	<<
F.	17 Nov.	27 Nov.	tt
M.	27 Nov.	7 Dec.	tt
T.	28 Nov.	8 Dec.	a
W.	29 Nov.	9 Dec.	tt
Th.	30 Nov.	10 Dec.	a
T.	5 Dec.	15 Dec.	tt
W.	6 Dec.	16 Dec.	tt

EVENTS.

Left Levden

Sailed from Southampton

Put back to Dartmouth

Sailed again

Put back, the fecond time, to Plymouth

Sailed from Plymouth :

Saw Cape Coa

Anchored in Provincetown harbor,

figned compact, and went afhore .... Unfhipped the fhallop, and went on fhore

to wafh, &c

Started on firft expedition inland —

camped at Stout's Creek

Found the Truro Springs; made fire;

went to Pond Village, Pamet River,

and Cornhill; dug up corn, &c.; and

went back to Pond Village for the

night

Sunk the kettle in the pond, and went

back to the fhip

Large exploring party darted in the

fhallop, and got to £. Harbor Creek Went on to Pamet River, and inland

from it

Revifited Cornhill, and Matter Jones

and a part returned

Found the wigwams, graves, &c, &c,
and got back that night and found
Peregrine White had been born in
their abfence
Francis Billington nearly blows up the
Mayflower
The third exploring party ttarted in the
fhallop, and got as far as Eattham ..
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3 11
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Day of week.

Th. F.

M. T. F.

S. M.

T. W.

Th.

F. S.

»:

M.

T. W. Th.

F. S. M. W.

as.

7 Dec.

8 Dec.

9 Dec,

io Dec. ii Dec.

12 Dec.

15 Dec.

16 Dec.

18 Dec.

19 Dec.

20 Dec.

21 Dec. 31 Dec.

N.S.

17 Dec.

18 Dec.

19 Dec.

20 Dec.

21 Dec.

22 Dec. 25 Dec.

26 Dec.

28 Dec.

29 Dec.

30 Dec

22 Dec.

23 Dec.

24 Dec

25 Dec.

26 Dec.

27 Dec

28 Dec.

29 Dec.

30 Dec. 1 Jan. 3 Jan.

1 Jan.

2 Jan.

3 Jan.

4 Jan.

5 Jan.

6 Jan.

7 Jan.

8 Jan.

9 Jan. 10 Jan. 13 Jan

Year.

1620

l62c

EVENTS.

Explored up toward Wellfleet Bay, and inland, and flept at Great-Meadow Creek

Firft encounter with the Indians ; then coafted round, and ran in under the lee of Clark's Ifland, in Plymouth Harbor, in a north-ealter, in the evening

Staid on the Ifland, probably refitting their broken mail, &c, &c

Kept the Sabbath on Clark's Ifland ...

Forefather's Day. Landed on the rock, and explored the coaft

Started back for the Mayflower, and probably reached her

Weighed anchor for Plymouth, but could not fetch the harbor, and were obliged to put back toward Cape Cod

Dropped anchor infide Plymouth Beach

Landed from the Mayflower, and explored

Landed for a fecond exploration

Landed again, and determined to fettle near Burial Hill and Town Brook...

Stormy and wet, fo that thofe in the (hip could not go afhore, and thofe on the (hore could do nothing. Richard Britteridge dies

Still ftormy. Goodwife Allerton (Mrs. Isaac) has a ftillborn fon

Commence to gather fluff for building..

Thofe on fhore hear a cry of favages, as they think. Solomon Prower dies

Bufy in building the common houfe ; thought they neard Indians towards night. Began to drink water on board

Foul weather ; no going afhore

Got to work again

Divided the company into 19 families, and meafured out lots

Tried to work, but rainy

Do. Saw Indian fmokes

At work again. Digory Prieft dies....

Thofe who were cutting thatch faw more Indian fmokes, but no Indians

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68-69 69

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»59

Day of week.	O. S.
Th.	4 Jan.
F.	5 Jan.
S.	6 Jan.
M.	8 Jan.

T. Th.

F.

S.

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M.

T. W. Th.

F.

S. *.

M. M.

T. W.

9 Jan.

11 Jan.

12 Jan.

13 Jan.

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16 Jan.

17 Jan.

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19 Jan.

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21 Jan.

22 Jan. 29 Jan.

30 Jan.

31 Jan.

4 Feb.

N.S.

14 Jan.

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19 Jan.

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26 Jan.

27 Jan.

28 Jan.

29 Jan.

30 Jan.

31 Jan.

1 Feb. 8 Feb.

9 Feb. 10 Feb.

14 Feb.

1620

9 Feb. 19 Feb.

EVENTS.

Standi(h with a party went out, and found wigwams, but no natives. Shot an eagle, and likened it to mutton !..

A failor found a herring; so they hoped for fifh foon, but had no cod-hooks ..

C. Martin very fick, and fends afhore for Carver, who goes on Sunday morning

A fine fair day ; the fhallop goes out for fifh, and has good succefs. F. Billington difcovers the lake fince called by his name. Martin dies

Divided their lots of land by lot

William Bradford taken fick while at work

Began to rain about noon. John Goodman and Peter Brown loft themfelves

Goodman and Brown found their way back in the evening

The thatch of the common houfe took fire and burned. The greater number were now on fhore, and they had intended to have fervice there this day, but the fire poflponed it

Rainy again, and no communication between the fhip and the fhore

A fair, funfhiny day, like April

Began to make a fhed to flore provifion in, but at noon it rained. John Goodman faw two wolves

Made the fhed

Kept their meeting on land for the firft time

Fair day ; ftored their meal in the fhed

Cold, with fleet, but cleared up, and the long-boat and fhallop carried goods afhore. Rofe Standifh died

Frofly, with fleet; could not work

Same weather. Saw two favages running away, who feemed to have been on the Iff and near the fhip

Wet, and fo windy as almoft to endanger the light fhip, and to warn out the " daubing " of their houfes

So cold they could work but little. The

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Day of

O. S.

W.

S. W.

S. *.

M. T. W.

Th.

16 Feb.

17 Feb.

21 Feb.

25 Feb.

N.S.

26 Feb.

27 Feb.

3 Mar.

7 Mar.

25 rco. 7 war. 3 Mar. 13 Mar.

7 Mar. 17 Mar. 16 Mar. 26 Mar.

17 Mar.

18 Mar.

Year.

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EVENTS.

27 Mar.

28 Mar.

19 Mar. 29 Mar.

20 Mar.

21 Mar.

30 Mar.

31 Mar.

22 Mar.

1 Apr.

Page.

houfe for the fick people got on fire, but with little damage. The mailer killed five geefe, and found a dead deer

Fair, but cold. One fowling faw twelve Indians and heard more. The Indians made a great fire at night, and carried off fome tools left in the woods

Had a meeting to eftablifh military orders. Chofe Miles Standi (h captain. Saw two favages on Watfon's Hill making figns, but they ran away

Got the great guns afhore and mounted them on the hill, and had a feaft with Matter Jones. Wm. White, Wm. Mullins, and two others, die..

Mary, wife of Ifaac Allerton, dies ....

The birds fang, and there was a thunderftorm with rain

Wind E. Carver went with a party to the great ponds. Sowed fome garden feeds

Had another meeting about military orders, &c, but were interrupted by trie coming in upon them of Samofet,

Samofet difmiflfed with prefents. A fair day

A reafonable fair day. Samofet came again, with five others, to truck. They were fent away becaufe it was Sunday ; but Samofet would not go, feigning fickness....

Fair day. Digged, and fowed garden feeds

Fair day. Digged, and fowed garden feeds

Fine warm day. Samofet fent away. Another meeting about laws and orders, again interrupted by the Indians coming. The carpenter, long fick, was able to fit the fhallop " to fetch all from aboard "

Another fine day, and another attempt at public bunnefs interrupted by the coming of Samofet and Sguanto,

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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Day of week.

O.S.

F.

23 Mar.

M.

Th. F.

S.

M.?

T.? W.?

M.

2 July

3 July

5 July

6 July

7 July

6 Au.?

7 Au. ?

8 Au.?

13 Aug.

14 Aug.

N.s.

2 Apr.

Year.

12 July

13 July

15 July

16 July

17 July

16 Au. ?

17 Au. ?

18 Au.?

23 Aug.

24 Aug. 21

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EVENTS.

announcing Afaffafoit, who made a formal call, with his brother and fuit,

and concluded a treaty

A very fair day. Vifits exchanged between the colonics and Afaffdfoifs party. Squanto caught a batch of eels. Concluded the 10-many-timesinterrupted laws and orders, and chofe John Carver governor for the enfuing year

Stephen Hopkins and Edward Window ftart for Pokatwkit^ and go to Namajket, and the Indian wear in Titicut *

They crofled the Titicut at Squabctty, and proceeded to Matepyft (Gardner's Neck), and thence to Sow ants (Warren, R. I.), and were welcomed by Maffafoit

Saw many Sachems, and witnefled their games, &c, &c

Started early and failing for Plymouth, came to Afatepyfty and flept at the wear

Got home, wet, weary, and worn

Ten men ftart for Naufet (Eaftham), to feek John Billington, who had loft himfelf in the woods. Put in at Cummaquid(Barnftable), at night..

Saw lyanough, and went on to Naufety where they found the boy

Returned fafely to Plymouth

They refolve to fend ten men armed to Jvatna/ket, to revenge the fuppofed death of Squanto t.

The company ftarted in the rain, loft themfelves, but reached Coubatanfs

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w.	15 Aug.	25 Aug.	l62I
T.	18 Sept.	28 Sept.	«
W. Th.	19 Sept 20 Sept.	29 Sept 30 Sept.	u u
F.	21 Sept	1 Oct.	a
S.	22 Sept.	2 Oct	«
T.	13 Nov.	23 Nov.	(i

T.	11 Dec.	21 Dec.	u
Th.	13 Dec. 17 Feb.	23 Dec. 27 Feb.	1622

EVENTS.

houfe and attacked it, and captured

the party

Explained matters, and returned to Plymouth »

Ten men, with Squanto and three other Indians, ftart at midnight for the Majfachufets

Arrived in Bofton Bay too late to land

Landed at Sauantum, in Quincy, and toward night eroded over to Charlestown

Marched up to NanepaJhemeVs grave (in Medford), &c. Saw many Indian women, and, returning to their fhallop, ftarted on their return voyage..

Arrived back at Plymouth before noon

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The Fortune arrives, bringing Robert Cufhman, and 3s perfons to be colonics

Edward Winflow writes to George Morton, to be fent with thefe " Relations " by the (hip on her return voyage

The Fortune fails on her return

Cufhman reaches London, after capture and detention at IU-d* Yeu

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